

Wm THE
WORKS

OF

O. N. W 10 74

That Great Monarch, and Glorious Martyr, *1/6*

King CHARLES I.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING,

EIKON BASILIKE; or, the Portraiture of his most sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.

PAPERS that passed, at Newcastle, between his Majesty and Mr A. Henderson, concerning the Change of Church-government, in the Year 1648.

His Majesty's PRAYERS during his Restraint.

MESSAGES for PEACE, sent by his Majesty to the two Houses,

before and since the breaking out of the War.

DECLARATIONS.

LETTERS written by his Majesty since the Beginning of the Parliament. Together with all the Letters that passed between his Majesty and the Queen.

All the SPEECHES delivered by his Majesty to the Two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and at other Places, since his first Parliament in 1625.

A B E R D E E N:

Printed by J. Chalmers:

For WILLIAM COKE, Bookseller in LEITH.

MDCCLXVI.

EIKON BASILIKE;

OR,

The Portraiture of His Sacred MAJESTY
in his Solitudes and Sufferings.

I. *Upon his Majesty's calling this last parliament.*

THIS last parliament I called, not more by others advice, and necessity of my affairs, than by my own choice and inclination; who have always thought the right way of parliaments most safe for my crown, as best pleasing to my people. And although I was not forgetful of those sparks which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for some years I hoped to have extinguished;) yet resolving with myself to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all public grievances in church and state, I hoped (by my freedom and their moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this: in which, as I feared affairs would meet with some passion and prejudice in other men, so I resolved they should find least of them in myself; not doubting but by the weight of reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, sorry to hear with what partiality and popular heat elections were carried on in many places: yet hoping, that the gravity and discretion of other gentlemen would allay and fix the commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all states and kingdoms) no man was better pleased with the convening of this parliament than myself; who knowing

best the largeness of my own heart toward my people's good and just contentment, pleased myself most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between me and my people.

All jealousies being laid aside, my own and my childrens interests gave me many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my subjects; the only temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen myself in some things of my wonted prerogative, since I knew I could be no loser, if I might but gain a recompence in my own subjects affections.

I intended not only to oblige my friends, but mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The odium and offences which some mens rigour or remissness in church and state had contracted upon my government, I resolved to have expiated by such laws and regulations for the future, as might not only rectify what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution; no man having a greater zeal to see religion settled, and preserved in truth, unity, and order, than myself, whom it most concerns both in piety and policy; as knowing, that no flames of civil dissensions are more dangerous than those which make religious pretensions the grounds of factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in parliament be convinced of to be amiss, and to grant whatever my reason and conscience told me was fit to be desired. I wish I had kept myself within those bounds, and not suffered my own judgment to have been overborne in some things, more by others importunities, than their arguments: my confidence had less betrayed myself and my kingdoms to those advantages which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief,

But

But our sins being ripe, there was no preventing of God's justice from reaping that glory in our calamities which we robbed him of in our prosperity.

For thou, O Lord, hast made us see, that resolutions of future reforming do not always satisfy thy justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.—Our sins have overlaid our hopes. Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.—When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused as to force thee to deprive us of them.—For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to repent of those remedies we too late apply.—Yet I do not repent of my calling this last parliament; because, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory and my people's good.—The miseries which have ensued upon me and my kingdoms, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us: and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparative of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them.—O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts, yet grant me and my people the benefit of our afflictions and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staff may comfort us. Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an enemy, but a father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children.—I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought me and my people unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.—Thy grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our peace could be with our sins.—O thou sovereign goodness and wisdom, who over-rulest all our counsels, over-rule also all our hearts; that the worse things we suffer by thy justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.—As our sins have turned our antidotes into poisons, so let thy grace turn our poisons into antidotes.—As the sins of our peace disposed us to this unhappy war, so let this war prepare us for thy blessed peace.—That although I have but a troublesome kingdom here, yet I may attain to that kingdom of peace in my heart and in thy heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy servant (though a sinner) for my Saviour's sake. Amen.

II. *Upon the earl of Strafford's death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a gentleman whose great abilities might make a prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state.

For those were prone to create in him great confi-

EIKON BASILIKE.

science of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies : whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere; and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the sun) raise many envious exhalations, which, condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times and the temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions : yet I could never be convinced of any such criminalousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of justice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs than in the business of that unfortunate earl; when between my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was persuaded by those that I think wished me well, to choose rather what was safe, than what seemed just ; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of conscience before God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in my judgment I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death ; that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret : which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow, confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate.

I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to save state fores ; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor

EIKON BASILIKE.

Nor hath God's justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that maxim, Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the people be displeased, or destroyed. For,

In all likelihood, I could never have suffered, with my people, greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated Strafford's innocency, at least by denying to sign that destructive bill, according to that justice which my conscience suggested to me, than I have done since I gratified some mens unthankful importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have observed, that those who counselled me to sign that bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the people, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: he only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own conscience. I hope God hath forgiven me and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which, being in my soul so fully conscious, those judgments God hath pleased to send upon me are so much the more welcome, as a means, I hope, which his mercy hath sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust act (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conscience before the preservation of my kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain a like consent from me to acts, wherein my conscience is unsatisfied, than the sharp touches I have had for what passed me in my lord of Strafford's business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in my affairs against the advice of my parliament; but I would not have had any hand in his death, of whose guiltlessness I was better assured than any man living could be.

Nor were the crimes objected against him so clear,

as after a long and fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the major part of both houses : especially that of the lords, of whom scarce a third part were present when the bill passed that house. And for the house of commons, many gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish my lord of Strafford's greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in law, durst not condemn him to die : who for their integrity in their votes, were, by posting their names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury ; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours for justice (that is, to have both myself and the two houses vote and do as they would have us) that many, 'tis thought, were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, than satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And that after-act, vacating the authority of the precedent for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly, God knows) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the colour and formalities of justice, and pretences of avoiding public mischiefs ; which may, I hope, be some evidence before God and man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappy war, which some men will needs charge on *me*, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any man's life unjustly, than to lose my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than any man : Since I had not the least temptation of envy or malice against him, and by my place should at least so far have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.—O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sin is ever before me.—Deliver me from blood guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.—Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy
sight

fight; for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.—Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the blood of my redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter than snow.—Teach me to learn righteousness by thy judgments, and to see my frailty in thy justice; while I was persuaded by shedding one man's blood to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me and upon my kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles.—Make me to prefer justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but the discoveries of man's injurious will.—It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of state, to go against my reason of conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of reason and judge of our consciences.—Whatever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free spirit, which subjects my will to none but thy light of reason, justice and religion, which shines in my soul; for thou desirest truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expressions.—Lord hear the voice of thy son's and my Saviour's blood, which speaks better things; O make me and my people to hear the voice of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice in thy salvation.

III. *Upon his majesty's going to the house of commons.*

MY going to the house of commons to demand justice upon the five members, was an act which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could: it filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea, and many of my friends represented it as a motion rising rather from passion than reason, and not guided with such discretion as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives and pregnant grounds, with which I thought myself so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legal trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further than I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil my kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own

hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations.

Providence would not have it so: yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any king's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the public peace, which to preserve by calling in question half a dozen men in a fair and legal way, (which, God knows, was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, than either to do me and my kingdom right, in case they had been found guilty; or else to have cleared their innocency, and removed my suspicions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (tho' I sought by all speedy and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness. The aspersions which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the house of commons, and invade their privilege, is so false, that as God best knows I had no such intent, so none that attended me could justly gather, from any thing I then said or did, the least intimation of any such thoughts.

That I went attended by some gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the majesty and safety of a king so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were my followers at that time short of my ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more scared at my coming, than I was unassured of not having some affronts cast upon me, if I had none with me to preserve a reverence to me: for many people had at that time learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against me both by words and deeds. The sum of that business was this:

Those men and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar as greater protectors of their laws and liberties than myself, and so worthier of their protection. I leave them to God and their own consciences; who, if guilty of evil machinations,

no present impunity or popular vindications of them will be subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of justice among men, we must religiously appeal, as being an argument to us christians of that after unavoidable judgment, which shall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions which I foresaw would in all likelihood follow some mens activity (if not restrained) and so now have done, to the undoing of many thousands; the more is the pity.

But to overawe the freedom of the houses, or to weaken their just authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much justice and reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance; and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, than to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witness in heaven, and in my heart: if I have purposed any violence or oppression against the innocent, or if there were any such wickedness in my thoughts; —Then let the enemy persecute my soul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine honour in the dust. —Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkness, shew thyself. —Let not my afflictions be esteemed (as with wise and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my sin in that matter; more than their impunity among good men is any sure token of their innocency. —But forgive them wherein they have done amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world. —Save thy servant from the privy conspiracies and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of my heart and the innocency of my hands in this matter. —Plead my cause, and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the throne judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy salvation.

IV. Upon the insolency of the tumults:

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, than those tumults in London and Westminster soon after the convening of this parliament;

liament; which were not like a storm at sea (which yet wants not its terror) but like an earthquake, shaking the very foundations of all; than which nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the sea: so it is no less, that he restrains the madness of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more God's displeasure against a nation, than when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar to pass all boundaries of laws and reverence to authority; which these tumults did to so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the honour and freedom of the two houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some members of both houses, as they fancied or disliked them: nor did they forbear most rude and unseemly deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to myself and my court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an ague, but a quotidian fever; always increasing to higher inflammations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men feared themselves and others withal; when indeed nothing was more to be feared, and less to be used by wise men, than those tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the parliament.

All obstructions in parliament (that is, all freedom of differing in votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these tumults: by these must the houses be purged, and all rotten members (as they pleased to count them) cast out; by these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharge their consciences must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical proposals against government ecclesiastical or civil must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally

Generally, whoever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruin upon church and state, used the midwifery of those tumults: whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of councils; or fair production of acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive votes, such as their inviters and encouragers most fancied.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated and connived at by some; countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired for the public good, than obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But mens passions and God's directions seldom agree: violent designs and motions must have suitable engines: such as too much attend their own ends, seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must crowd in what reason will not lead.

Who were the chief demagogues and patrons of tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God, in his due time, will let these see, that those were no fit means for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for multitudes to become insolent, when they have men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, that many complaints being made, and messages sent by myself and some of both houses, yet no order for redress could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-spread disease and predominant mischief.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; others petulancy, that they joyed

to see their betters shamefully outraged and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery: so insensible were they of mine or the two houses common safety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known boute-feus and impudent incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those tumults as their advantages served.

Yea some (who should have been wiser statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their courage, zeal, and industry; which to sober men could seem no better than that of the devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive and devour*.

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no declaration from the bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted, nor yet from other lords and gentlemen of honour, nor yet from myself, could take place for the due repression of these tumults, and securing not only our freedom in parliament, but our very persons in the streets; I thought myself not bound by my presence to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts; I hoped by my withdrawing to give time both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining some degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of pusillanimity in any man for popular terrors to desert his public station: but I think it a hardiness beyond true valour, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a sea; which to resist at present threatens imminent danger, but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, than scuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that I meditated a war, when I went from Whitehall only to redeem my person and conscience from violence: God knows I did

did not then think of a war. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after acts, have so much weakened myself, if I had purposed to engage in a war, which to decline by all means, I denied myself in so many particulars: It is evident I had then no army to fly unto for protection or vindication.

Who can blame me or any other, for withdrawing ourselves from the daily baitings of the tumults, as not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not fly so high, as to worry and tear those in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is my sole judge, is my witness in heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my house at Whitehall, if I could have had but any reasonable fair quarter: I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think myself bound to prostitute the majesty of my place and person, the safety of my wife and children, to those who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudeness and petulancy.

But this business of the tumults (whereof some have given already an account to God, others yet living know themselves desperately guilty) time and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it as it is: only I believe the just avenger of all disorders will in time make those men and that city see their sin in the glass of their punishment. It is more than an even lay, that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this parliament, as it was in its first election and constitution, sat full and free, the members of both houses being left to their freedom of voting, as in all reason, honour, and religion, they should have been, I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men than they wished or expected.

For I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it as far as I could comprehend it: but

as swine are in gardens and orderly plantations, so are tumults to parliaments, and plebeian concourses to public councils, turning all into disorders and fordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think that had I called this parliament to any other place in England (as I might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A parliament would have been welcome in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vicious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence; to thee I may safely fly, who rulest the raging of the sea, and the madness of the people.—The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.—I look upon my sins and the sins of my people (which are the tumults of our souls against thee, O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of loyalty, modesty, laws, justice, and religion.—But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appear, and after didst assuage the flood which drowned the world by the word of thy power, rebuke those beasts of the people, and deliver me from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.—Restore, we beseech thee, unto us the freedoms of our councils and parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of reason and religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and christians; so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of order and counsel.—What man cannot or will not repress, thy omnipotent justice can and will.—O Lord, give them that are yet living a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.—Set bounds to our passions by reason, to our errors by truth, to our seditions by laws duly executed, and to our schisms by charity; that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, a city at unity in itself.—This grant, O my God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

V. Upon his majesty's passing the bill for the triennial parliaments; and after settling this, during the pleasure of the two houses.

THAT the world might be fully confirmed of my purposes at first, to contribute what in justice, reason,

reason, honour, and conscience, I could to the happy success of this parliament (which had in me no other design but the general good of my kingdoms) I willingly passed the bill for triennial parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable physic, might, if well applied, prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived this parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work than they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens activity, that they will needs make work rather than want it; and choose to be doing amiss, rather than do nothing.

When that first act seemed too scanty to satisfy some mens fears, and compass public affairs, I was persuaded to grant that bill of sitting during the pleasure of the houses, which amounted, in some mens sense, to as much as the perpetuating this parliament. By this act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out and lock the door upon all present jealousies and future mistakes; I confess I did not thereby intend to shut myself out of doors, as some men have now requited me.

True, it was an act unparalleled by any of my predecessors; yet cannot in reason admit of any worse interpretation than this, of an extreme confidence I had, that my subjects would not make ill use of an act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to deny myself in so high a point of my prerogative.

For good subjects will never think it just or fit, that my condition should be worse, by my bettering theirs: nor, indeed, would it have been so in the events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire, advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual parliament, I thought, would but keep the commonweal in tune, by preserving laws in their due

due execution and vigour, wherein my interest lies more than any man's, since by those my rights as a king would be preserved no less than my subjects; which is all I desired. More than the law gives me I would not have, and less the meanest subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that settling act; and many would needs persuade me, I had cause so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of honour, that the more I granted them, the less I should have and enjoy with them. I still counted myself undiminished by my largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my people.

Of which I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless me with increase of it, when men shall have more leisure and less prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those (as I think) not more princely than friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness, who are now only miserable in this, that some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of honour and love to me or my posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence and my sufferings for them; which (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a persuasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to men, that being professedly my subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictness.

The injury of all injuries is, that which some men will needs load me withal, as if I were a wilful and resolved occasioner of my own and my subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but, God knows, falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this parliament, endeavoured by force and open hostility

to undo what by my royal assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extreme fatuity of mind in me, so far to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a sword against them. God knows, though I had then a sense of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a war: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure myself by their not using favours with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatened to abuse all acts of grace, and turn them into wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an hostile and warlike way upon those whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more desired advantages against me, than by so unprincely inconsistency to have assaulted them with arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an act of parliament.

God knows I longed for nothing more, then that myself and my subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condescendings.

It had been a course full of sin, as well as of hazard and dishonour, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the sword, which I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to my subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability; if some men had not feared where no fear was, whose security consisted in scaring others.

I thank God I know so well the sincerity and uprightness of my own heart, in passing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, that although I may seem less a politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I any reservations in my own soul when I passed

passed it, nor repentings after, till I saw that my letting some men go up to the pinnacle of the temple, was a temptation to them to cast me down headlong; concluding, that without a miracle, monarchy itself, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, that as many kingdoms as the devil shewed our favour, and the glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining by ways of sinful ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a soul worth more worlds than this hath kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, that it is no strange thing for men left to their passions; either to do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: only I am sorry other mens eyes should be evil, because mine were good.

To thee, O my God, do I still appeal, whose all-discerning justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.—Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to my subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.—Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to do what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too, who pretended they aimed at nothing else.—Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of my best hopes and most specious desires.—I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled myself.—Thus have they requited me evil for good, and hatred for my good will towards them.—O Lord, be thou my pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admits my return to the port whence I set out, nor my making any other with that safety and honour which I designed.—'Tis easy for thee to keep me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my acts of greatest indulgence to them and assurance of them. But no favours from me can make others more
guilty

guilty than myself may be, of misusing those many and great ones which thou, O Lord, hast conferred upon me.—I beseech thee, give me and them such repentance as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.—Make me so far happy, as to make a right use of others abuses; and by their failings of me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon my offences against thee.—So, although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glorious saints.

VI. *Upon his majesty's retirement from Westminster.*

With what unwillingness I withdrew from Westminster, let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to sea by a storm; yet better do so, than venture splitting or sinking on a lee-shore.

I staid at Whitehall till I was driven away by shame more than fear, to see the barbarous rudeness of those tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand any thing, and not leave either myself or the members of parliament the liberty of our reason and conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression my case alone, (though chiefly mine): for the lords and commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing votes were not by any law or reason conclusive to my judgment; nor can they include or carry with them my consent, whom they represent not in any kind; nor am I further bound to agree with the votes of both houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with my just rights as a king, and the general good of my people. I see, that, as many men, they are seldom of one mind; and I may oft see that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate minds, how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so many bills, which had been
enough

enough to secure and satisfy all, if some mens hydro-pic insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of royal bounty was able to overcome, so resolved they seemed either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be counsel, when not reason is used; as to men, to persuade, but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuary patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pity or redemption, that is content to have the rational sovereignty of his soul, and liberty of his will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my kingdoms so considerable, as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom which cannot be denied me as a king, because it belongs to me as a man and a christian; owning the dictates of none but God to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die enjoying this empire of my soul, which subjects me only to God, so far as by reason or religion he directs me, than live with the title of a king, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use my reason and conscience, in which I declare as a king to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the majesty of the crown of England to be bound by any coronation oath, in a blind and brutish formality to consent to whatever its subjects in parliament shall require as some men will needs infer; while denying me any power of a negative voice as king, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using my reason with a good conscience, which themselves and all the commons of England enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick, who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny whatever myself, as king, or the house of peers with me, should not so much desire as enjoin them to pass. I think my oath fully discharged in that point, by my governing only by such laws as my people with the house of peers have chosen, and myself

myself consented to. I shall never think myself conscientiously tied to go as oft against my conscience, as I should consent to such new proposalls which my reason, in justice, honour, and religion bids me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to arbitrary government (that is, the law of another's will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their king the only man that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left him to use his own reason, either in person, or by any representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call obstinacy in me (which not true judgment of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind ;) yet can no man think it other than the badge and method of slavery, by savage rudeness and importunate obtrusions of violence to have the mist of his error and passion dispelled, which is a shadow of reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what he takes for reason : the uprightness of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a pilot at sea cannot see the pole star, it can be no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of reason and convincing arguments, who call in the assistance of mere force to carry on the weakness of their counsels and proposalls. I may in the truth and uprightness of my heart protest before God and men, that I never wilfully opposed or denied any thing that was, in a fair way, after full and free debates, propounded to me by the two houses, further than I thought in good reason I might and was bound to do.

Nor

Nor did any thing ever please me more, than when my judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good conscience consent to them : yea, in many things, where not absolute and moral necessity of reason, but temporary convenience on point of honour was to be considered, I chose rather to deny myself than them ; as preferring that which they thought necessary for my people's good, before what I saw but convenient for myself.

For I can be content to recede much from my own interests and personal rights, of which I conceive myself to be master : but in what concerns truth, justice, the rights of the church, and my crown, together with the general good of my kingdoms, (all which I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in me) here I am and ever shall be fixt and resolute ; nor shall any man gain my consent to that wherein my heart gives my tongue or hand the lye ; nor will I be brought to affirm that to men which in my conscience I denied before God. I will rather chuse to wear a crown of thorns with my Saviour, than to exchange that of gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embased flexibleness shall be forced to bend and comply to the various and oft contrary dictates of any factions ; when instead of reason and publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a christian king, than to prefer his conscience before his kingdoms.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this native, rational and religious freedom ; for this, I believe, is thy will, that we should maintain : who, though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wills to thine, whose wisdom and goodness can neither err nor misguide us, and so far to deny our carnal reason in order to thy sacred mysteries and commands, that we should believe and obey rather than dispute them ; yet dost thou expect from us only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee against our consciences ; and as to the desires of men, enjoineest us to try all things by the touch-stone of reason and laws, which are the rules of civil justice, and to de-
clare

clare our consent to that only which our judgments approve.— Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affairs of my kingdoms at present do call me.—My people can witness how far I have been content, for their good, to deny myself in what thou hast subjected to my disposal.—O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuary violence of some mens immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerate and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my subjects, and the discharge of my own duty to reason and justice.—Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities and injuries they press upon me, rather than commit the least sin against my conscience.—Let the just liberties of my people be (as well as they may) preserved in fair and equal ways, without the slavery of my soul.—Thou that hast invested me by thy favours in the power of a christian king, suffer me not to subject my reason to other mens passions and designs, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightness of my heart, though I cannot satisfy these men.—Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk always uprightly before thee.—Lead me in the way of truth and justice: for these, I know, will bring me at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.— This I beg of thee for my Saviour's sake.

VII. *Upon the queen's departure and absence out of England.*

ALTHOUGH I have much cause to be troubled at my wife's departure from me and out of my dominions; yet not her absence, so much as the scandal of that necessity which drives her away, doth afflict me: that she should be compelled by my own subjects, and those pretending to be protestants, to withdraw for her safety: this being the first example of any protestant subjects that have taken up arms against their king, a protestant. For I look upon this now done in England, as another act of the same tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the protestant profession) may occasion a further alienation of mind and divorce of affections in her from that religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which

Which yet God can, and I pray he would, in time take away, and not suffer these practices to be any obstruction to her judgment; since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their religion for doctrine, government and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English protestants, who continue firm to their former settled principles and laws.

I am sorry my relation to so deserving a lady should be any occasion of her danger and affliction, whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians, while their rudeness and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all virtues as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for herself. The fault is, that she is my wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands me to study her security, who is only in danger for my sake. I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrecked, so as she may be in safe harbour.

This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of my personal dangers, that I can perish but half if she be preserved: in whose memory and hopeful posterity I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satiated with my blood.

I must leave her and them to the love and loyalty of my good subjects, and to his protection who is able to punish the faults of princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries done to them by those who in all duty and allegiance ought to have made good that safety which the laws chiefly provide for princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from those that dispute their loyalty: nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a king, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their religion.

It is pity so noble and peaceful a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice with inhumanity and impudence.

Her

Her sympathy with me in my afflictions will make her virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights, and assure the envious world that she loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindness of the generality and vulgar: for we see God is pleased to try both our patience by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against us; and those of our own household are become our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge, who think to satisfy all obligations to duty by their corban of religion; and can less endure to see, than to sin against, their benefactors as well as their sovereigns.

But even that policy of my enemies is so far venial as it was necessary to their designs, by scandalous articles and all irreverent demeanor to seek to drive her out of my kingdoms; lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a wife, and loyalty as a subject, she should have converted to, or retained in their love and loyalty all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own heart, whence no malice can banish her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy myself.

Thou, O Lord, whose justice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, re-unite us on earth, if it be thy will: however, bring us both at last to thy heavenly kingdom.—Preserve us from the hands of our despitel and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.—Though we differ in some things as to religion, (which is my greatest temporal infelicity;) yet Lord, give and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every truth of thine.—Let both our hearts agree in the love of thyself, and Christ crucified for us.—Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know in order to thy glory, our publick relations, and our souls eternal good; and make us careful to do what good we know.—Let neither ignorance of what is necessary to be known, nor un-

belief or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilful default.—Let not this great scandal of those my subjects which profess the same religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardening of her in any error thou wouldst have cleared to her.—Let mine and other mens constancy be an antidote against the poison of their example.—Let the truth of that religion I profess be represented to her judgment with all the beauties of humility, loyalty, charity, and peaceableness; which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: not in the odious disguises of levity, schism, heresy, novelty, cruelty, and disloyalty, which some men's practices have lately put upon it.—Let her see thy sacred and saving truths as thine, that she may believe, love and obey them as thine, cleared from all rust and dross of human mixtures.—That in the glass of thy truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us in thy son Jesus Christ our only Saviour, and serve thee in all these holy duties which most agree with his holy doctrine and most imitable example.—The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all human glory and greatness in our scatterings and eclipses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be in those durable honours and perfections which are only to be found in thyself, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

VIII. Upon his majesty's repulse at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.

MY repulse at Hull seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that my greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abet or own it: It was the first overt essay to be made, how patiently I could bear the loss of my kingdoms.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, than with anger for myself: nor did the affront done to me trouble me so much as their sin, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to bear this and much more with patience: but I foresaw they could hardly contain themselves within the compass of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud which was soon after to overspread the whole kingdom, and cast all into disorder and darkness.

For 'tis among the wicked maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must always be seconded with worse; and rather not be begun, than

than not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous than the assault, and hate repentance more than perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother than oil, but now I saw they would prove very swords.

Against which I having, as yet, no defence but that of a good conscience, thought it my best policy, with patience to bear what I could not remedy. And in this (I thank God) I had the better of Hotham, that no disdain or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignity of his carriage, to do or say any thing unbeseeming myself, or unsuitable to that temper, which in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a christian, as coming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire always more to remember I am a christian than a king; for what the majesty of the one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a king tempteth to revenge, the humility of a christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compass all these impotent passions, whose excess injures a man more than his greatest enemies can: for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwise cannot reach very far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God, not long after, so pleaded and avenged my cause in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it, as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For Sir John Hotham, unreproached, unthreatened, uncursed by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest son's heads as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men from whom surely he might have expected another

reward than thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts, with them, were divided from their king.

Nor is it strange, that they who employed them at first in so high a service and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him who had so much premerited of them: for apostasy unto loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the commonweal: the eldest son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the father against the father of his country: root and branch God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to every fancy. God knows, I was so far from rejoicing in the Hothams ruin (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his conscience than I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For he was never thought to be of that superstitious sourness which some men pretend to in matters of religion; which so darkens their judgment, that they cannot see any thing of sin and rebellion in those means they use, with intents to reform to their models of what they call religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervency.

Sir John Hotham was, I think, a man of another temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he began to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sin and reparation of his duty to me, he should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their justice, and not my mercy, who could as willingly

lingly have forgiven him as he could have asked that favour of me.

For I think clemency a debt which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to believe they would not after abuse it: since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but only prayers and praises.

Poor gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world, by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, That the rude carriage of a subject towards his sovereign carries always its own vengeance as an unseparable shadow with it; and those oft prove the most fatal and implacable executioners of it, who were the first employers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-hill; though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a man's honour, as wilful perpetrations of unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sin, brand with most indelible characters of infamy the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it; for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratify any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me more than the sin against thee.—Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.—Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thy own hands: that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.—I do not, I dare not say, So let my enemies perish, O Lord: yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon and impunity, if it be thy blessed will.—Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.—Lord, lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: let the lightning of this thunder-

bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terror to all.—Discover to them their sin, who know not they have done amiss; and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.—That preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternal vengeance.—And do thou, O Lord, establish the throne of thy servant in mercy and truth meeting together: let my crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace kissing each other.—Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy sake, who hast prevented us with overtures of thy love even when we were thine enemies, and hast sent thy son Jesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucify him.

IX. Upon the lifting and raising armies against the king.

I Find that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced me to leave Whitehall: what tumults could not do, an army must; which is but tumults lifted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end. My recess hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may, as to any outward strength, which, God knows, is little or none at all: but I have a soul invincible through God's grace enabling me; here I am sure to be conqueror, if God will give me such a measure of constancy as to fear him more than man, and to love the inward peace of my conscience before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince me? O my soul, be of good courage: they confess their own weakness as to truth and justice, who choose rather to contend by armies than by arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many acts of grace I have lately passed, and for those many indignities I have endured? Is there no way left me to make me a glorious king, but by my sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a king, that loves his people and desires their love, either to kill his own subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of civil war in the bowels of my most flourishing kingdom, the fruits

I must now reap after seventeen years living and reigning among them with such a measure of justice, peace, plenty, and religion, as all nations about either admired or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in government, which might escape rather through ill counsel of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishness of others, envying the public should be managed without them, or the hidden and unsuperable necessities of state, than any propensity, I hope, of myself either to injuriousness or oppression. Whose innocent blood during my reign have I shed to satisfy my lust, anger, or covetousness? what widows or orphans tears can witness against me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with my own blood? For the hazards of war are equal, nor doth the cannon know any respect of persons. In vain is my person excepted by a parenthesis of words, when so many hands are armed against me with swords.

God knows how much I have studied, to see what ground of justice is alledged for this war against me; that so I might, by giving just satisfaction, either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion; which to many men seems rather the production of a surfeit of peace, and wantonness of minds, or of private discontents, ambition and faction (which easily find or make causes of quarrel) than any real obstructions of public justice or parliamentary privilege.

But this is pretended, and this I must be able to avoid and answer before God and my own conscience; however some men are not willing to believe me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from Whitehall, to see if I could allay the insolency of the tumults (of the not suppressing of which no account in reason can be given where an orderly guard was granted, but only to oppress both mine and the two houses freedom of declaring and voting according to every man's conscience) what obstructions of justice were there fur-

ther than this, that what seemed just to one man might not seem to another.

Whom did I by power protect against the justice of parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their trial, (warned by my lord of Strafford's death) while the vulgar threatned to be their oppressors, and judgers of their judges, was from that instinct which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of justice and freedom so stopped and troubled by the rabble, that their lawful judges either durst not come to the houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety; it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the public odium was enough to ruin them, before their cause could be heard or tried.

Had not factious tumults overborne the freedom and honour of the two houses; had they asserted their justice against them, and made the way open for all the members quietly to come and declare their consciences; I know no man so dear to me, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their summons, to whose sentence according to law I think every subject bound to stand.

Distempers indeed were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were voted and demanded as delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be overawed with the tumults and their patrons, nor compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men who agitated innovations and ruin, both in church and state.

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and cautiousness: further than this I did never allow any man's refractoriness against the privileges and orders of the houses; to whom I wished nothing more than safety, fulness, and freedom.

But

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in fair and parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and votes, to gain the concurrence of the major part of lords and commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious tumults) to sift and terrify away all those members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the bishops enjoying their ancient places and undoubted privileges in the house of peers carried for them by far the major part of lords? yet after five repulses, contrary to all order and custom, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the peers were forced to absent themselves. In like manner was the bill against root and branch brought on by tumultuary clamours and schismatical terrors, which could never pass, till both houses were sufficiently thinned and overawed.

To which partiality while in all reason, justice and religion, my conscience forbids me by consenting to make up their votes to acts of parliament; I must now be urged with an army, and constrained either to hazard my own and my kingdoms ruin by my defence; or prostrate my conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that primitive, apostolical, and anciently universal government of the church by bishops.

Which if other men's judgments bind them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishing of it, mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgment, have also a most strict and indispensable oath upon my conscience, to preserve that order and the rights of the church: to which most sacrilegious and abhorred perjury, most unbecoming a christian king, should I ever by giving my consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery than any hath or can befall me; inasmuch as the least sin hath more evil in it than the

greatest affliction. Had I gratified their antiepiscol faction at first in this point with my consent, and sacrificed the ecclesiastical government and revenues to the fury of their covetousness, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an army to fetch in and punish delinquents.

That I consented to the bill of putting the bishops out of the house of peers, was done with a firm persuasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their rights and honour for my sake and the commonweal's; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any danger to me or to my kingdom. That I cannot add my consent for the total extirpation of that government, (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my conscience, as what I think religious and apostolical, and so very sacred and divine, is not to be dispensed with or destroyed, when what is only of civil favour and privilege of honour granted to men of that order, may with their consent who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of justice and authority of parliament; when I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a war, being only such as justice, reason, and religion had made in my own and other men's consciences.

Afterwards, indeed, a great shew of delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine or others withdrawing from or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them (as they have declared often, that they might seem to have the advantage and justice of the defensive part, and load me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God knows, I had not so much as any hopes of an army in my thoughts. Had the
tumults

tumults been honourably and effectually repressed by exemplary justice, and the liberty of the houses so vindicated, that all members of either house might with honour and freedom, becoming such a senate, have come and discharged their consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by my withdrawing; and had much more willingly and speedily returned than I retired; this being my necessity driving, the other my choice desiring.

But some men knew, I was like to bring the same judgment and constancy which I carried with me, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited me to come, and grievously complained of my absence, yet they could not but be pleased with it; especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext, of raising an army to fetch in delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable delinquency of the tumults and their excitors, which drave myself, and so many of both houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities; which yet in all reason and honour they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an army, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the tumults.

That this is the true state and first drift and design in raising an army against me, is, by the sequel, so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by propositions, or treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to me, or demanded of me, as any original difference in any point of law or order of justice. But among other lesser innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a war, or easily granted by me, and only to make up a number; or

else they were merely consequential and accessary, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the noise and shew of piety and heat for reformation and religion might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearness of judgment might be obstructed. But this was and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an army, with this design, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent. And in this truth, as to my conscience, (who was, God knows, as far from meditating a war, as I was, in the eye of the world, from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this war on my side, I do not think my innocency any whit prejudiced or darkened; nor am I without that integrity and peace before God, as with humble confidence to address my prayer to him.

For thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of human affairs; thou judgest without prejudice: thy omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable judgment.—O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after my soul; and have not set thee before their eyes.—Consider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many; and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.—For thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil my kingdoms in a civil war; whereto I had least temptation, as knowing I must adventure more than any, and could gain least of any by it.—Thou O Lord, art my witness how oft I have deplored; and studied to divert the necessity thereof; wherein I cannot well be thought so prodigally thirsty of my subjects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy war; and which were better spent to save, than to destroy my people.—O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me: but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the war, will needs persuade the world that I have raised it first, or given just cause to raise it.—The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: yea, I could be content (at least by my silence) to take upon me so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my enemies, and redeem my people from that miserable war: since thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.—Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitful men; many of whom have not lived out half their days,

days, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked counsels.—Save, O Lord, thy servant, as hitherto thou hast; and in thy due time scatter the people that delight in war.—Arise, O Lord, lift up thyself, because of the rage of mine enemies, which increaseth more and more: behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falsehood.—Thou knowest the chief design of this war is, either to destroy my person, or force my judgment, and to make me renege my conscience and thy truth. I am driven to cross David's choice, and desire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruel) than into thy hands, by sinning against my conscience, and in that against thee, who art a consuming fire: better they destroy me, than thou shouldst damn me.—Be thou ever the defence of my soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.—If nothing but my blood will satisfy my enemies, or quench the flames of my kingdoms, or thy temporal justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own subjects hands.—But O let the blood of me, though their king, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my innocent and peace-making redeemer; for in that thy justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternal plenary satisfaction, both for my sins and the sins of my people: whom I beseech thee still own for thine: and when thy wrath is appeased by my death, O remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my father, for they know not what they do.

*X. Upon their seizing the king's magazines, forts,
navy, and militia,*

HOW untruly I am charged with the first raising of an army, and beginning this civil war, the eyes that only pity me, and the loyal hearts that durst only pray for me at first, might witness, which yet appear not so many on my side, as there were men in arms lifted against me. My unpreparedness for a war may well dishearten those that would help me, while it argues, truly, my unwillingness to fight, yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend myself, or to preserve what is mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purposes as well as their injuries, who are so much before hand in their preparations against me, and surprisals

prifals of my strength. Such as are not for them, yet dare not be for me; so overawed is their loyalty by the others numbers and terrors. I believe my innocency and unpreparedness to assert my rights and honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteem; who would not so easily have declared a war against me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew my chiefest arms left me, were those only which the ancient Christians were wont to use against their persecutors, prayers and tears. These may serve a good man's turn, if not to conquer as a soldier, yet to suffer as a martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprizing my castles, forts, arms and navy, with the militia, is so far best for me, that it may drive me from putting any trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast myself into the protection of the living God, who can save by few or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy ravens to be Elias' caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisal of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the militia so much in reference to my own protection, as my people's.

Their many and sore oppressions grieve me; I am above my own: what I want in the hands of force and power, I have in the wings of faith and prayer.

But this is the strange method those men will needs take to resolve their riddle of making me a glorious king, by taking away my kingly power: thus I shall become a support to my friends, and a terror to my enemies, by being unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to me the new modelling of sovereignty and kingship, as without any reality of power, so without any necessity of subjection and obedience: that the majesty of the kings of England might hereafter hang, like Mahomet's

met's tomb, by a magnetick charm, between the power and privileges of the two houses, in an airy imagination of regality.

But I believe the surfeit of too much power which some men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the common wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; sovereign power in subjects seldom agreeing with the stomachs of fellow subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant militia fought by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure my friends, and overcome mine enemies, to gain the peace of all, by depriving myself of a sole power to help or hurt any; yielding the militia (which is my undoubted right no less than the crown) to be disposed of as the two houses shall think fit during my time.

So willing am I to bury all jealousies in them of me, and to live above all jealousies of them as to myself: I desire not to be safer than I wish them and my people. If I had the sole actual disposing of the militia, I could not protect my people farther than they protected me and themselves: so that the use of the militia is mutual. I would but defend myself so far, as to be able to defend my good subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs persuade the world, that none but wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the shepherd and his flock. Miserable experience hath taught my subjects, since power hath been wrested from me, and employed against me and them, that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the law hath intrusted the public safety and welfare.

Yet even this concession of mine as to the exercise of the militia, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be enemies not to me only, but to all monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such jealousies of the crown, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just and necessary rights

rights in point of power, to which, at last, all law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here honour and justice due to my successors forbid me to yield to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no less than justice and honour) should have forbid them to have asked of me.

For although I can be content to eclipse my own beams, to satisfy their fears, who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of kingly power wherewith God and the laws have invested me : yet I will never consent to put out the sun of sovereignty to all posterity and succeeding kings, whose just recovery of their rights from unjust usurpations and extortions shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any act of mine ; which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding kings than to my subjects, whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future, so as by a law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions which must needs follow the many-headed hydra of government : which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to foresee, so they will find it hath more mouths too which must be satisfied ; and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection beyond that of right monarchy, where counsel may be in many, as the senses ; but the supreme power can be but in one, as the head.

Haply, when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow my enforced darkness and eclipse (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which, as the moon, receiveth its chiefest light from me,) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by my receding so much from the use of my right in the power of the militia, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for my people's protection ; I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury

perjury, (if so it may seem) who compel me to take this new and strange way of discharging my trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting my subjects by exposing myself to danger or dishonour for their safety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of civil war, and advantages of power, cannot be effected but by some side yielding: to which the greatest love of the public peace, and the firmest assurance of God's protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens fears, which arising from the injustice of their actions (tho' never so successful) yet dare not adventure their authors upon any other way of safety than that of the sword and militia; which yet are but weak defences against the strokes of divine vengeance, which will overtake, or of mens own consciences, which always attend, injurious perpetrations.

For myself, I do not think that I can want any thing which providential necessity is pleased to take from me, in order to my people's tranquillity and God's glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able, by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to me, as he did to Job, whatever honour, power, or liberty the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the devil himself can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence of arms, and militia, all refuge by land of forts and castles, all flight by sea in my ships and navy; yea though they study to rob me of the hearts of my subjects, the greatest treasure and best ammunition of a king; yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency or God's mercy, nor obstruct my way to heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I fly for help: if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me than can be against me.—There is none in heaven or in earth that I desire in comparison of thee. In the loss of all, be thou more than all to me. Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.—Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: but my eyes are toward thee.—Thou needest

no help; nor shall I, if I may have thine, if not to conquer; yet at least to suffer.—If thou delightest not in my safety and prosperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me, whose judgments oft begin with thy own children.—I am content to be nothing, that thou mayst be all.—Thou hast taught me, that no king can be saved by the multitude of an host; but yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of hosts, and father of mercies.—Help me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on every side: yet be thou on my side and I shall not fear what man can do unto me. I will give thy justice the glory of my distress. O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that persecute my soul. By my sins have I fought against thee; and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy subject; and justly mayst thou by my own subjects strip me of my strength, and eclipse my glory.—But shew thyself, O my hope and only refuge. Let not mine enemies say, there is no help for him in his God.—Hold up my goings in the paths, that my footsteps slip not.—Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings.—Shew thy marvellous loving kindness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee; from those that rise up against them; From the wicked that oppress me; from my deadly enemies that compass me about.—Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

XI. Upon the nineteen propositions first sent to the king, and more afterwards.

ALTHOUGH there be many things they demand, yet if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set my own safety, and my people's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save only the parting with my conscience and honour. If nothing else will satisfy, I must choose rather to be as miserable and inglorious as my enemies can make or wish me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me with the point of the sword, nor urged with the injuries of a war; when I have already declared to them that I cannot yield to them without violating my conscience. 'Tis strange, there can be no method of peace, but by making war upon my soul.

Here are many things required of me, but I see nothing

nothing offered to me by the way of grateful exchange of honour ; or any requital for those favours I have or can yet grant them.

This honour they do me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine.—They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reserve to myself the incommunicable jewel of my conscience, and not to be forced to part with that whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to me ; and while I have any mastery of my reason, how can they think I can consent to them ? who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a king or a good christian. My yielding so much as I have already makes some men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my people's peace hath, indeed, great influence upon me ; but the love of truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a king, as wound that inward quiet of my conscience, which ought to be, is, and ever shall be, by God's grace, dearer to me than my kingdoms.

Some things which a king might approve, yet in honour and policy are at some time to be denied to some men ; lest he should seem not to dare to deny any thing, and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands and importunities.

But to bind myself to a general and implicit consent to whatever they shall desire or propound (for such is one of their propositions) were such a latitude of blind obedience as never was expected from any freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much less of a king by his own subjects ; any of whom he may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as he doth in place and power.

This were, as if Sampson should have consented not only to bind his own hands and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the Philistines might
with

with the more safety mock and abuse him ; which they chose rather to do, than quite to destroy him, when he was become so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seems an arrogancy least of all becoming those who pretend to make their addresses in an humble and loyal way of petitioning ; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferiority, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted, with such an answer as the will and reason of their superior thinks fit to give ; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of reason, to consent or dissent, else it were very foolish and absurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be my right belonging to me in reason as a man, and in honour as a sovereign king, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extreme injury to confine my reason to a necessity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whose minds may be as differing from mine both in reason and honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are ? which last God and the laws have sufficiently distinguished, making me their sovereign, and them my subjects : whose propositions may soon prove violent oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary impositions upon the regal authority ; since no man seeks to limit and confine his king in reason, who hath not a secret aim to shage with him, or usurp upon him in power and dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion ; that so I might verify what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their pupil than their prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the counsel of others : but yet I am not so diffident of myself, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the sovereignty of reason in my soul, and the majesty of my own crown to any of my subjects.

Least

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men who will not admit, or do refuse and neglect to vindicate, the freedom of their own and others sitting and voting in parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young statesmen the most part of these propounders are: so that till experience of one seven years hath shewed me how well they can govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very foolish indeed, and unfaithful in my trust, to put the reins of both reason and government wholly out of my own into their hands, whose driving is already too much like Jehu's, and whose forwardness to ascend the throne of supremacy portends more of Phaëton than of Phœbus. God divert the omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in parliament as my subjects, not my superiors; called to be my counsellors, not dictators: their summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my duty.

When I first heard of propositions to be sent me, I expected either some good laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restoration of their vigour and due execution; or some evil customs preterlegal and abuses personal had been to be removed; or some injuries done by myself and others to the common-weal were to be repaired; or some equable overtures were to be tendered to me, wherein the advantages of my crown being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condescend to what tended to my subjects good, without any great diminution of myself, whom nature, law, reason, and religion bind me in the first place to preserve, without which it is impossible to preserve my people according to my place.

Or, at least, I looked for such moderate desires of due reformation of what was indeed amiss in church and

and state, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the laws in force, the wisdom and piety of former parliaments, the ancient and universal practice of christian churches, the rights and privileges of particular men: nor yet any thing offered in lieu or in the room of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfy sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons, both divine and human, which might justify the abruptness and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their propositions I can observe little of these kinds or to these ends: nothing of any laws disjointed which are to be restored, of any right invaded, of any justice to be unobstructed, of any compensations to be made, of any impartial reformation to be granted; to all or any of which, reason, religion, true policy, or any other human motives might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty or difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as factions in the state, and schisms in the church, and so punishable by the laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours and assistance chiefly, to demand not only tolerations of themselves in their vanity, novelty, and confusion, but also abolition of the laws against them, and a total extirpation of that government, whose rights they have a mind to invade.

This as to the main: other propositions are, for the most part, but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomely.

Nor do I so much wonder at the variety and horrible novelty of some propositions (there being nothing so monstrous, which some fancies are not prone to long for):

This

This casts me into, not an admiration, but an extasy, how such things should have the fortune to be proponded in the name of the two houses of the parliament of England; among whom I am very confident there was not a fourth part of the members of either house, whose judgments free, single, and apart, did approve or desire such destructive changes in the government of the church.

I am perswaded there remains in far the major part of both houses (if free and full) so much learning, reason, religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution and the corruption, the government and the misgovernment, the primitive patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after-copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no reason (as yet produed to the contrary) so soon renounce all regard to the laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this church and state, under the present government of the church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity, (believing that all is good which is gilded with shews of zeal and reformation) their private dissenting in judgment to be drawn into the common sewer or stream of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamours and tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence and policy to improve to their innovating designs the present distractions.

Such armies of propositions having so little, in my judgment, of reason, justice, and religion on their side, as they had tumult and faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backed and seconded with armies of soldiers. Though the second should prevail against my person, yet the first shall never overcome me, further than I see cause for I look

not at their number and power so much, as I weigh their reason and justice.

Had the two houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the wardship of the tumults, (which can be no other than the hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those men who hunt after factious and private designs, to the ruin of church and state):

Did my judgment tell me, that the propositions sent to me were the results of the major part of their votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a right to sit in parliament: I should then suspect my own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For I have charity enough to think there are wise men among them; and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want, so 'tis fit I should use their advice, which is the end for which I called them to a parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrability as to exclude myself; since none of them hath that part to act, that trust to discharge, nor that estate and honour to preserve, as myself; without whose reason concurrent with theirs (as the sun's influence is necessary in all nature's productions) they cannot beget or bring forth any one complete and authoritative act of public wisdom, which makes the laws.

But the unreasonableness of some propositions is not more evident to me than this is, that they are not the joint and free desires of those in their major number, who are of right to sit and vote in parliament.

For many of them favour very strong of that old leaven of innovations, masked under the name of reformation, which in my two last famous predecessors days heaved at, and sometimes threatened both prince and parliaments; but, I am sure, was never went so far to infect the whole mass of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, however it dispersed among the vulgar: nor was it likely so suddenly to taint the major part of both houses, as that they should unanimously desire

desire and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in church and state, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant how the choice of many members was carried by much faction in the countries; some thirsting after nothing more than a passionate revenge of whatever displeasure they had conceived against me, my court, or the clergy.

But all reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed and many-handed tumults.

No less doth reason, honour, and safety, both of church and state, command me to chew such morsels before I let them down. If the straitness of my conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such camels as others do of sacrilege and injustice, both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrel with me than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, that nothing of passion or peevishness, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shall have any bias upon my judgment to make me gratify my will, by denying any thing which my reason and conscience commands me not.

Nor, on the other side, will I consent to more than reason, justice, honour, and religion, persuade me to be for God's glory, the church's good, my people's welfare, and my own peace.

I will study to satisfy my parliament and my people; but I will never, for fear or flattery, gratify any faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithful counsel which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counsel of that mighty counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline my heart stedfastly to follow it.

O thou first and eternal reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotency, furnish thy servant first with clear discoveries of truth, reason, and justice in my understanding ; then so confirm my will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of my enemies may ever inforce me against those rules which thou by them hast planted in my conscience.—Thou never madest me a king that I should be less than a man, and not dare to say yea or nay, as I see cause : which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature that hath the use of reason and the liberty of speech.—Shall that be blameable in me, which is commendable veracity and constancy in others ?—Thou seest, O Lord, with what partiality and injustice they deny that freedom to me their king, which thou hast given to all men, and which themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves, while they are so tender of the least breach of their privileges.—To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule through the perplexed labyrinths of our own thoughts and other mens proposals ; which I have some cause to suspect are purposely cast as snares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficulties wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.—O Lord, make thy way plain before me.—Let not my own sinful passions cloud or divert thy sacred suggestions.—Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.—I cannot please all ; I care not to please some men : if I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease. Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices such as are wise in their own conceits ; make me wise by thy truth, for thy honour, my kingdoms general good, and my own soul's salvation ; and I shall not much regard the world's opinion or diminution of me.—The less wisdom they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisdom directing me ; while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of crossness or humour, nor grant anything which is to be denied out of any fear or flattery of men.—Suffer me not to be guilty or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designs which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by my consent.—Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best by any morose or perverse dissentings.—Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice when it appears to be for the publick good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure me.—Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.—Since we must give an account of every evil and idle word in private at thy tribunal ; Lord, make me careful of those solemn declarations of my mind which are like to have the greatest influence upon the publick, either for woe or weal.—The less others consider what they ask, make me the more solicitous what I answer.—Though mine own and my people's pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing : yet, Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one or purchase the other, with the least expence or waste of my conscience, whereof thou, O Lord, only art deservedly more master than myself.

XII. *Upon the rebellion and troubles in Ireland.*

THe commotions in Ireland were so sudden and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious author or instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me, that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed: Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred by me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to myself, and destructive to my subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish rebels did was done with my privity at least, if not by my commission. But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my subjects to fight, not only without my commission, but against my command and person too; yet all the while to pretend they fight by my authority, and for my safety.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledge for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much protestant principles are more against all rebellion against princes than those of papists. Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse the scandal and contagion of their examples.

But whoever fail of their duty toward me, I must bear the blame: this honour my enemies have always done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trials either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquisite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsity and contempt with the

cup of my affliction; charging me not only with untruths, but such as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonour by what is committed: whereby (in all policy, reason, and religion, having least cause to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhuman and barbarous, like some cyclopic monster, whom nothing will serve to eat and drink but the flesh and blood of my own subjects, in whose common welfare my interest lies as much as some mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor so cunningly, as in laying the odium of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames the sparks of discontent which wanted not predisposed fuel for rebellion in Ireland: where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke to an open rebellion a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their religion, and the natural desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened by the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great argument of the truth of their religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with truth wash my hands in innocency as to any guilt in that rebellion; so I might wash them in my tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had to see it spread so far and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions and jealousies here in England made most men rather intent to their own
safety

safety, or designs they were driving, than to the relief of those who were every day inhumanly butchered in Ireland: whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time repressed and smothered, those sparks of civil dissensions and jealousies which in England some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with Ireland's sad estate than myself. I offered to go myself in person upon that expedition: but some men were either afraid I should have any one kingdom quieted: or loth they were to shoot at any mark here less than myself; or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruin had been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that next to the sin of those who began that rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it by domestick dissensions, or diverted the aids, or exasperated the rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening all extremities, not only to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that nation; resolving to destroy root and branch, men, women, and children, without any regard to those usual pleas for mercy which conquerors, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts in behalf of those whose oppressive fears, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for sex and age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left. Which preposterous and (I think) unevangelical zeal is too like that of the rebuked disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, than to call for fire from heaven upon whole cities for the repulse or neglect of a few: or like that of Jacob's sons, which the father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, than to ap-

ply moderate remedies ; such as might punish some with exemplary justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them from the fury of those who would soon drown them if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of zeal counts all merciful moderation lukewarmness, and had rather be cruel than counted cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done ; the confiscation of mens estates being more beneficial, than the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor protestants in Ireland (who were daily massacred, and overborne with numbers of now desperate enemies) was diverted and obstructed here, I was earnestly entreated and generally advised by the chief of the protestant party there, to get them some respite by a cessation, without which they saw no probability, unless by miracle, to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped. God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by persons of honour and integrity, that so I might neither encourage the rebels insolence, nor discourage the protestants loyalty and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort that the necessity and difficulty of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and honour, because I suffered not the rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the protestants there.

I thought that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the protestants future as well as present safety ; if during the time of that cessation some men had had the grace to have laid Ireland's sad condition more to heart, and laid aside those violent motions which were here carried on by those that had better skill to let blood than to stanch it.

But

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false and evil, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no judge but God above me; so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my innocence, because he is so far pleased to try my patience, as he did his servant Job's.

I have enough to do to look to my own conscience, and the faithful discharge of my trust as a king: I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches which issue out of some men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke or sparks do out of a furnace, much less to make such prolix apologies as might give those men satisfaction, who, conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves.

It is kingly to do well, and hear ill: if I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to hear the other.

I thank God, I can hear with patience as bad as my worst enemies can falsely say: and I hope I shall still do better than they desire or deserve I should.

I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping, those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.

Which (whatever my enemies please to say or think) I look upon, as that of my other kingdoms, exhausted out of my own veins: no man being so much weakened by it as myself. And I hope, though mens insatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, It is enough; and command the sword of civil wars to sheath itself: his merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and my kingdoms have formerly abused, and can re-

ver deserve should be restored.—Thou seest how much cruelty among christians is acted under the colour of religion ; as if we could not be christians unless we crucify one another.—Because we have not more loved thy truth, and practised in charity, thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to arise among us.—O Lord forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctify what we have suffered.—Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruin.—Let not the miseries I and my kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee ; but make our sins appear to our consciences as they are represented in the glass of thy judgments ; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.—O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies pardon our sins ; and remove thy judgments, which are very many and very heavy.—Yet let our sins be ever more grievous to us than thy judgments ; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved.—First give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquility of united kingdoms.—In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins ; and through this red sea of our own blood bring us at last to a state of piety, peace and plenty.—As my publick relations to all make me share in all my subjects sufferings, so give me such a pious sense of them as becomes a christian king, and loving father of my people.—Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon me be as a breath, more to kindle my compassion : give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted my three kingdoms. O rescue and assist those poor protestants in Ireland whom thou hast hitherto preserved.—And lead those in the ways of thy saving truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them with rebellious and destructive principles ; which they act under an opinion that they do thee good service.—Let the hand of thy justice be against those who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate wars.—Thou that art far from destroying the innocent with the guilty, and the erroneous with the malicious, thou that hadst pity on Nineveh for the many children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced nation to the wrath of those whose covetousness makes them cruel ; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.—Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe justice, a posterity which may praise thee for thy mercy.—And deal with me, not according to man's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy sight.—If I have desired or delighted in the woful day of my kingdoms calamities ; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of the bloody distractions ; then let thy hand be against me and my father's house. O Lord thou seest I have enemies enough of men ; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my conscience did not witness my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knowest

knowest right well. But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies. Spare us, O Lord, and be not angry with us forever.

XIII. *Upon the calling in of the Scots and their coming.*

THE Scots are a nation upon whom I have not only common ties of nature, sovereignty and bounty, with my father of blessed memory; but also special and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active spirits among them so far, that I seemed to many to prefer the desires of that party before my own interest and honour. But I see, royal bounty emboldens some men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity and act of pacification forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be far from letting any man's ingratitude or inconstancy make me repent of what I granted them for the publick good. I pray God it may so prove.

The coming again of that party into England with an army, only to conform this church to their late new model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for religion and liberty) save only to confirm the presbyterian copy they had set, by making this church to write after them, though it were in bloody characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means before the divine justice, I leave to their consciences to judge who have already felt the misery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this kingdom or that.

Such knots or crossness of grain being objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they cry up as the only just reformation, and settling of government and discipline in churches, to go on so smoothly here as it might do in Scotland; and was by them imagined would have done in England, when so many of the English clergy, through levity or dis-

content, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to episcopacy, and faced about to their presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion or some self seeking, more than true zeal and pious discretion, for any foreign state or church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used rather successfully than commendably; not considering that the same physick on different constitutions will have different operations; that may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the English church, which gentler applications than those of an army might not easily have removed: nor is it so proper to hew out religious reformatations by the sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force but reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, than to procure a fair and equal one: for it was concluded there, that the English clergy must conform to the Scots pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings, both for their credits who urge things with such violence; and for other mens consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by soldiers fighting in the field, than scholars disputing in free and learned synods.

Sure in matters of religion, those truths gain most on men's judgments and consciences which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious churchmen in England; who being

ing always bred up, and conformable to the government of episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, only because that party of the Scots will needs by force assist a like party here, either to drive all ministers as sheep into the common fold of presbytery, or destroy them, at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their flocks. If the Scotch sole presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ for all churches government, yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those Scots, or any other of my subjects, commission by the sword to set it up in any of my kingdoms without my consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his apostles paid to the chief governors of states where they lived, is very clear in the gospel; but that he or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of presbyters, and in such a way as those Scots endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If presbytery, in such a supremacy, be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others, and is the first and only point of christianity that was to be planted and watered with so much christian blood, whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the primitive planters both of christianity and episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other mens. Sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on or begun with the temptations of covetousness or ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point which those Scots had by army or commissioners to move me with, by their many solemn obtestations and pious threatenings, but only this, to represent to me the wonderful necessity of setting up their presbytery in England, to avoid the further miseries of a war; which some men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any sects, schisms, or heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength, and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their ways by the like methods of violence? All which presbytery seeks to suppress, and render odious under those names: when wise and learned men think that nothing hath more marks of schism and sectarism than this presbyterian way, both as to the ancient, and still most universal way of the church-government, and specially as to the particular laws and constitutions of this English church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I see more rational and religious motives than soldiers use to carry in their knapsacks.

But we must leave the success of all to God, who hath many ways (having first taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our passion) to teach us those rules of true reason and peaceable wisdom which is from above, tending most to God's glory and his church's good: which I think myself so much the more bound in conscience to attend with the most judicious zeal and care, by how much I esteem the church above the state, the glory of Christ above mine own, and the salvation of men's souls above the preservation of their bodies and estates.

Nor may any men, I think, without sin and presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained my consent, and resolved both my own and other mens consciences by the strength of their reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither manly, christian, nor loyal, shall never either shake or settle my religion, nor any man's else who knows what religion means, and how far it is removed from all faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble christians and loyal subjects in matters of religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves,

themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those that have some temptations of gain, to recompense their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots army's coming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty and gratitude to me, than I wondered how those here could so much distrust God's assistance, who so much pretended God's cause to the people, as if they had the certainty of some divine revelation: considering they were more than competently furnished with my subjects arms and ammunition, my navy by sea, my forts, castles, and cities by land.

But I find, that men jealous of the justifiableness of their doings and designs before God, never think they have human strength enough to carry their work on, seem it never so plausible to the people. What cannot be justified in law or religion, had need be fortified with power.

And yet such is the inconstancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom some of them one while earnestly invite to come in to their assistance, others of them soon after are weary of, and with nauseating cast them out: what one party thought to rivet to a settledness by the strength and influence of the Scots, that the other rejects and contemns; at once despising the kirk-government and discipline of the Scots, and frustrating the success of so chargeable, more than charitable, assistance. For sure the church of England might have purchased at a far cheaper rate the truth and happiness of reformed government and discipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the best divines of Christendom for their advice in a full and free synod: which I was ever willing to and desirous of, that matters being impartially settled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice and man's folly will at length be discovered through all the films and pretensions

tensions of religion, in which politicians wrap up their designs: in vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruins of loyalty. Nor can those confederations or designs be durable, when subjects make bankrupt of their allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for religion.

But as my best subjects of Scotland never deserted me; so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward me, as to make me to despair of their return; when besides the bonds of nature and conscience which they have to me, all reason and true policy will teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the crown, not in their serviceableness to any party of the people, to a neglect and betraying of my safety and honour for their own advantages. However, the less cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply myself to God.

The troubles of my soul are enlarged: O Lord, bring thou me out of my distress.—Lord, direct thy servant in the ways of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.—Deliver me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the serpent's subtilty, that they forget the dove's innocency.—Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against my soul, to the betraying of my conscience and honour.—Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those parties in both nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagerness pursue him. Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightness in me, and I shall not despair of my subjects affections returning towards me.—Thou canst soon cause the overflowing seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.—O my God, I trust in thee: let me not be ashamed: let not my enemies triumph over me.—Let them be ashamed who transgress without a cause: let them be turned back that persecute my soul. Let integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.—Redeem thy church, O God, out of all its troubles!

XIV. *Upon the covenant.*

THe presbyterian Scots are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawred their souls to them by a solemn league and covenant,

covenant, where many engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought, chiefly to batter or rase episcopacy. This they make the grand evil spirit, which, with some other imps purposely added, to make it more odious and terrible to the vulgar, must by so solemn a charm and exorcism be cast out of this church, after more than a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of christianity in this island, and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other churches since the apostles times till this last century.

But no antiquity must plead for it: presbytery, like a young heir, thinks the father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the bishops chair and authority (though laymen go away with the revenues) all art is used to sink episcopacy, and launch presbytery in England, which was lately buoyed up in Scotland by the like artifice of a covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with many passages in that covenant (some referring to myself with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the discipline and government of the church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new ways, by oaths and covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less than swearing for or against those things which are of no clear moral necessity, but very disputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of oaths can hardly be made and enjoined with that judgment and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think religion requires; which never refuses fair and equable deliberations, yea, and dissentings too, in matters only probable.

The enjoining of oaths upon people, must needs in things doubtful be dangerous, as in things unlawful damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessary duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an innovating oath and covenant,

venant with that former protestation which was so lately taken, "to maintain the religion established in the church of England"; since they count discipline so great a part of religion.

But ambitious minds never think they have laid snares and gins enough to catch and hold the vulgar credulity; for by such politic and seemingly pious stratagems they think to keep the populace fast to their parties, under the terror of perjury; whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of religion, allegiance, and laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared party, without my consent, and without any like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, be ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of duty, which lie upon all my subjects consciences, both to God and me.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me by keeping their covenant in honest and lawful ways; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the covenant in such mens intentions was, to preserve religion in purity, and the kingdoms in peace: to other than such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged. Nor will those that have any true touches of conscience endeavour to carry on the best designs (much less such as are and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that title of the covenant: unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous and unauthorized novelties before their own known and sworn duties, which are indispensable, both to God and myself.

I am prone to believe and hope, that many who took the covenant are yet firm to this judgment, that such latter vows, oaths, or leagues, can never blot out those former gravings and characters which by just and lawful oaths were made upon their souls.

That which makes such confederations by way of
solemn

solemn leagues and covenants more to be suspected, is that they are the common road used in all factions and powerful perturbations of state or church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, than when politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled or sacred in religion and laws; which by such screws are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps and less sensible degrees from their known rule and wonted practice, to comply with the humours of those men who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of holy combinations.

Which cords and withes will hold mens consciences no longer than force attends and twists them: for every man soon grows his own pope, and easily absolves himself of those ties, which, not the commands of God's word, or the laws of the land, but only the subtilty and terror of a party casts upon him; either superfluous and vain, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the imposers really aiming to dissolve or suspend their former just and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegal ways seldom or never intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the party and design intended.

I see the imposers of it are content to make their covenant like manna (not that it came from heaven, as this did) agreeable to every man's palate and relish who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary, with any salvo's, cautions, and reservations; so as they cross not their chief design, which is laid against the church and me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a seeming increase to their party: so little do men remember, that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe, many that love
me

me and the church well may have taken the covenant, who are not yet so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruin which hung over their heads, in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it or devotion to it.

Wherein the latitude of some general clauses may perhaps serve somewhat to relieve them, as of "doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their places and callings," and "according to the word of God:" For these indeed carry no man beyond those bounds of good conscience which are certain and fixed, either in God's laws as to the general, or the laws of the state and kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of covenanters, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds to which God hath called them: surely it were the best way to expiate the rashness of taking it; which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful authority at first to enjoin it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the covenant, who keep it within such bounds of piety, law and loyalty, as can never hurt either the church, myself, or the public peace; against which no man's lawful calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the church which the covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partial advice of a few divines (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession and practice) such foul scandals and suspicions should be cast upon the doctrine, and government of the church of England, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of reformed churches abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments

ments I cannot but prefer before any mens, now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than myself, to carry on all due reformati^ons with mature judgment and a good conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advice) be by God's word and right reason convinced to be amiss. I have offered more than ever the fullest, freest, and wisest parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of some mens actions make its evident, that the main reformation intended is, the abasing of episcopacy into presbytery, and the robbing the church of its lands and revenues: for, no men have been more injuriously used as to their legal rights, than the bishops and churchmen. These, as the fattest deer, must be destroyed; the other rascal-herd of schisms, heresies, &c. being lean, may enjoy the benefit of a toleration: Thus Naboth's vineyard made him the only blasphem^er of his city, and fit to die. Still, I see, while the breath of religion fills the sails, profit is the compass by which factious men steer their course in all seditious commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the church's lands and revenues (which issuing chiefly from the crown, are held of it, and legally can revert only to the crown with my consent;) so I have had always such a perfect abhorrence of it in my soul, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have bishops and all churchmen so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not only what the pious munificence of my predecessors hath given to God and the church, but all other additions of christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive me or mine to invade or sell the priests lands, which both Pharaoh's divinity and Joseph's true piety abhorred to do; So unjust I think it both in the eye of reason and religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-heart-

ed Pharaoh, to withdraw the straw, and encrease the task: so pursuing the oppressed church, as some have done, to the red sea of a civil war, where nothing but a miracle can save either it, or him who esteems it his greatest title to be called, and his chiefest glory to be The Defender of the Church, both in its true faith and its just fruitions, equally abhorring sacrilege and apostasy.

I had rather live as my predecessor Henry the III. sometime did, on the church's alms, than violently to take the bread out of bishops and ministers mouths.

The next work will be Jeroboam's reformation, consecrating the meanest of the people to be priests in Israel, to serve those golden calves who have enriched themselves with the church's patrimony and dowry; which how it thrived both with prince, priests and people, is well enough known: and so it will be here, when from the tuition of kings and queens, which have been nursing fathers and mothers of this church, it shall be at their allowance who have already discovered what hard fathers and step-mothers they will be.

If the poverty of Scotland might, yet the plenty of England cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the church's rights and revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent these sad consequences which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of ministers, both in church and state; since I think it no less than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are ways enough to repair the breaches of the state without the ruins of the church: as I would be a restorer of the one, so I would not be an oppressor of the other, under the pretence of publick debts: the occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse. I pray God neither I nor mine may be necessary to either.

To

To thee, O Lord; do I address my prayer; beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of my subjects swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, moral and indispensable bonds, which thy word and the laws of this kingdom have laid upon their consciences: from which no pretensions of piety and reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practices.—Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.—Thou allowest no man's committing sacrilege, under the zeal of abhorring idols. Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious ties.—Thou hast taught us by the wisest of kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy, and after vows to make enquiry.—Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity, of robbing thee and thy church of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage learning and religion.—Though my treasures are exhausted, my revenues diminished, and my debts increased, yet never suffer me to be tempted to use such profane reparations; lest a coal from thine altar set such a fire on my throne and conscience as will be hardly quenched.—Let not the debts and engagements of the publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy church.—The state may soon recover by thy blessing of peace upon us; the church is never likely, in times where the charity of most men is grown so cold, and their religion so illiberal.—Continue to those that serve thee and thy church all those encouragements, which by the will of the pious donors and the justice of the laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poor: that thy priests may be clothed with righteousness, and the poor may be satisfied with bread.—Let not holy things be given to swine, nor the church's bread to dogs; rather let them go about the city, grin like a dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.—Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them nor theirs: let them be as Naboth's vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottenness to their names, a moth to their families, and a sting to their consciences.—Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.—Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the church and state; that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.—But so favour my righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the Most High, I may never miscarry.

XV. *Upon the many jealousies raised, and scandals cast upon the king, to stir up the people against him.*

IF I had not my own innocency and God's protection, it were hard for me to stand out against those

those stratagems and conflicts of malice which by falsities seek to oppress the truth, and by jealousies to supply the defect of real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust engagements against me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open hostility come short of these designs: for I can more willingly lose my crowns than my credit; nor are my kingdoms so dear to me as my reputation and honour.

Those must have a period with my life, but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality when I am dead and gone: a good name being the embalming of princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity.

Those foul and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against my people's love of me: that undermining their opinion and value of me, my enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet (I thank God) the detriment of my honour is not so afflictive to me, as the sin and danger of my people's souls, whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only not consider their sin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendered to them so fit to be destroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of my destroyers, imagining they then fear God most, when they least honour their king.

I thank God, I never found but my pity was above my anger; nor have my passions ever so prevailed against me, as to exclude my most compassionate prayers for them whom devout errors, more than their own malice, have betrayed to a most religious rebellion.

I had the charity to interpret, that most part of my subjects fought against my supposed errors, not my person; and intended to mend me, not to end me. And I hope that God pardoning their errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions

tions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me both to do him better service, and my people more good than hitherto I have done.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injuries, than I am ambitious by all princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to my own affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to me; nor shall the malice of my enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort which that confidence gives me. I shall never gratify the spitefulness of a few, with any sinister thoughts of all their allegiance whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do shall never persuade me to make so bad interpretations of most of my subjects actions; who possibly may be erroneous, but not heretical, in point of loyalty.

The sense of the injuries done to my subjects is as sharp as those done to myself, our welfares being inseparable: in this only they suffer more than myself, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that my afflictions grieve me not more than this doth, that I am afflicted by those whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and foreign enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be my own subjects, who are, next to my children, dear to me: and for the restoring of whose tranquility I could willingly be the Jonah; if I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided interests of their and mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the storm of their miseries would be rather increased than allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruin than rule
over

over them ; nor am I so ambitious of that dominion which is but my right, as of their happiness, if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of subjects committed against their sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die many deaths, than shamefully to desert or dishonourably to betray my own just rights and sovereignty, thereby to gratify the ambition, or justify the malice of my enemies ; between whose malice and other mens mistakes I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary ague and the plague, or the itch of novelty and the leprosy of disloyalty.

As liars need have good memories, so malicious persons need good inventions, that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy ; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience, I thank God, will better serve me to bear, and my charity to forgive, than my leisure to answer the many false aspersions which some men have cast upon me.

-Did I not more consider my subjects satisfaction than my own vindication, I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of or remember what they say or object.

I would leave the authors to be punished by their own evil manners and seared consciences, which will I believe, in a shorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false scandals which they have cast on me ; and make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or civility (I need not say loyalty) in the not suppressing of them : whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall e're long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my name and honour.

First,

First, nothing gave me more cause to suspect and search my own innocency, than when I observed so many forward to engage against me who had made great professions of singular piety ; for this gave to vulgar minds so bad a reflexion upon me and my cause as if it had been impossible to adhere to me, and not withal depart from God, to think or speak well of me, and not to blaspheme him : so many were persuaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to be at once loyal to me, and truly religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with me which were both learned and religious, much above that ordinary size and that vulgar proportion wherein some men glory so much ; who were so well satisfied in the cause of my sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with me than forsake me.

Nor is it strange, that so religious pretensions as were used against me should be to many well minded men a great temptation to oppose me ; especially being urged by such popular preachers as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they please to call God's cause, cursing all that will not curse with them ; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used, nor the depth of the mischief chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakness of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of some mens religion to scandalize me and mine ; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as false.

I thank God, I have had more trial of his grace as to the constancy of my religion in the protestant profession of the church of England, both abroad and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception I am so liable to in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that religion ; whose judicious and solid grounds both from scripture and antiquity, will not give my conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and

divided innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon me and my people.

Contrary to those well-tried foundations both of truth and order, which men of far greater learning and clearer zeal have settled in the confession and constitution of this church in England, which many former parliaments, in the most calm and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever by God's help, persevere, as believing it hath most of primitive truth and order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some papists which were my subjects any way fight against my religion, as some men would needs interpret it; especially those who least of all men cared who they employed, or what they said and did, so they might prevail.

It is strange that so wise men as they would be esteemed should not conceive, that differences of persuasion in matters of religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameness of duty, allegiance and subjection. The first they owe as men and christians to God; the second they owe to me in common as their king. Different professions in point of religion cannot (any more than in civil trades) take away the community of relations either to parents or princes: and where is there such an olio or medley of various religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their sects and opinions?

It was indeed a foul and indelible shame for such as would be counted protestants, to enforce me, a declared protestant, their lord and king, to a necessary use of papists or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend myself.

Nor did I more than is lawful for any king in such exigence, to use the aid of any of his subjects.

I am sorry the papists should have a greater sense of their allegiance than many protestant professors, who seem to have learned and to practise the worst principles of the worst papists. Indeed,

Indeed it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in me (and very pleasing no doubt to my enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in my subjects, when I was disputed with by swords points ; and when I needed the help of my subjects as men, no less than their prayers as christians.

The noise of my evil counsellors was another useful device for those who were impatient any mens counsels but their own should be followed in church or state ; who were so eager in giving me better counsel, that they would not give me leave to take it with freedom, as a man, or honour, as a king ; making their counsels more like a drench, that must be poured down, than a draught, which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justify beyond human errors and frailties myself or my counsellors ; they might be subject to some miscarriages, yet such as were far more repairable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances wherewith some men have now even wildered and almost quite lost both church and state.

The event of things at last will make it evident to my subjects, that had I followed the worst counsels that my worst counsellors ever had the boldness to offer me, or myself any inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both church and state in three flourishing kingdoms to such a chaos of confusions and hell of miseries as some have done ; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the midst of their many great advantages, redeem either me or my subjects.

No men were more willing to complain, than I was to redress what I saw in reason was either done or advised amiss : and this I thought I had done even beyond the expectation of moderate men, who were sorry to see me prone even to injure myself out of a zeal to relieve my subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon me, my court and my clergy, hath wholly beguiled

both church and state of the benefit of all my either retractions or concessions ; and withal hath deprived all those (now so zealous persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar, and which indeed a truly humble christian will so highly prize, as rather not to be relieved than be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that crown of christian patience which attends humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to withdraw my people's affections from me to their designs was, the noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, than unapt to bear, in the popular sense ; which is to do what every man liketh best.

If the divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to reason, laws and religion, I envy not my subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy myself ; so far am I from the desire of oppressing theirs ; nor were those lords and gentlemen which assisted me so prodigal of their liberties, as with their lives and fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to civil immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their ambitious and covetous designs over the ruins of church and state, prince, peers and people, will ever desire greater freedoms than the laws allow ; whose bounds good men count their ornament and protection, others their manacles and oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the law, who despiseth its rule and direction ; losing justly his safety, while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform my subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousness against or beyond the laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow

fellow subjects liberties, who have the hardiness to use their king with so severe restraints, against all laws, both divine and human ; under which yet I will rather perish, than complain to those who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humility and meekness, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every egg of different opinion to a faction or schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire my laws and sceptre should intrench on God's sovereignty, which is the only king of men's consciences, and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for conscience sake, giving no men liberty to break the law established, further than with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, some mens thirst after novelties, others despair to relieve the necessities of their fortunes, or satisfy their ambition in peaceable times, distrust God's providence as well as their own merits, were the secret (but principal) impulsives to these popular commotions, by which subjects have been persuaded to expend much of those plentiful estates they got and enjoyed under my government in peaceable times ; which yet must now be blasted with all the odious reproaches which impotent malice can invent, and myself exposed to all those contempts which may most diminish the majesty of a king, and encrease the ungrateful insolences of my people.

For mine honour, I am well assured that as mine innocency is clear before God in point of any calumnies they object ; so my reputation shall, like the sun, (after owls and bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) rise and recover itself to such a degree of splendor as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold and unable to bear. For never were any princes more glorious than those whom God

hath suffered to be tried in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious subjects.

And who knows but the just and merciful God will do me good for some mens hard, false and evil speeches against me ? wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of honour by those rude and scandalous pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, fly up and down to set all places on like flames) as those men do, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetful of their duty to God and me : by no way ever vindicating the majesty of their king against any of those, who, contrary to the precept of God and precedent of angels, speak evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those who are honoured with the name of gods.

But it is no wonder if men not fearing God, should not honour their king.

They will easily condemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that supreme and adorable majesty, in comparison of whom all the glory of men and angels is but obscurity ; yet hath he graven such characters of divine authority and sacred power upon kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shining of my face, while God gives me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glory and majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest my reproach and my dishonour ; my adversaries are all before thee. My soul is among lions, among them that are set on fire, even the sons of men ; whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.—Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.—O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame ? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies ?—Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest my enemies prevail against me, and lay mine honour in the dust.—Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies ; the Lord will abhor both the blood-thirsty and deceitful men.—Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the sun at noon day.—Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocency, nor my displeasure

sure my patience : that after my Saviour's example, being reviled, I may not revile again ; and being cursed by them, I may bless them.—Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished, when by thy judgments on David he might seem to justify his disdainful reproaches ; give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not be brought upon them.—Let my prayers and patience be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.—Let me be happy to refuse and put to silence their evil speaking by well doing ; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance and thy pardon.—Teach me David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion ; that I may look to thy mercy through man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.—Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.—Though they curse, do thou bless ; and I shall be blessed, and made a blessing to my people : that the stone which some builders refuse, may become the head stone of the corner.—Look down from heaven, and save me from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.—Hide me in the secret of thy presence from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

XVI. *Upon the ordinance against the common-prayer-book.*

IT is no news to have all innovations ushered in with the name of reformations in church and state, by those, who seeking to gain reputation with the vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undo whatever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study novelties allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godliness.

And because matter of prayer and devotion to God justly bears a great part in religion, (being the soul's more immediate converse with the divine majesty) nothing could be more plausible to the people than to tell them they served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick liturgy, or forms of constant prayers, must be not amended in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter and manner, to which I should easily consent,

sent, but wholly cashiered and abolished : and after many popular contempts offered to the book and those that used it according to their consciences and the laws in force, it must be crucified by an ordinance, the better to please either those men who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency ; or others, who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejecting of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for popery and superstition : whereas no doubt the liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the church of England ; and this by all reformed churches is confessed to be most sound and orthodox.

For the manner of using set and prescribed forms, there is no doubt but that wholesome words being known and fitted to mens understandings are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why christians should be weary of a well composed liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulness.

I could never see any reason why any christian should abhor, or be forbidden to use the same forms of prayer ; since he prays to the same God, believes in the same Saviour, professeth the same truths, reads the same scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same daily wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray ; and in what words, as to what sense ; when we desire the same things, what
hinders

hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use, as we pray for, *our daily bread*.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not only disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and condemn the Lord's prayer; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all set liturgies in the christian church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions in publick prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin than that which they call coldness and barrenness: nor are men in those novelties less subject to formal and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety, and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: nor is God more a God of variety than of constancy: nor are constant forms of prayers more likely to flat and hinder the spirit of prayer and devotion, than unpremeditated and confused variety to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet and humble use of ministers gifts even in publick, the better to fit and excite their own and the people's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilities should quite juggle out and deprive the church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men, such as the composers of the service-book were, who may in all reason be thought to have more gifts and graces, enabling them to compose, with serious deliberation and concurrent advice, such forms of prayers as may best fit the church's common wants, inform the hearers understanding, and stir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so

much pretended spirit of prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have : which what they are many times, (even there where they make a great noise and show) the affectations, emptiness, impertinency, rudeness, confusions, flatness, levity, obscurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the senseless and oft times blasphemous expressions, all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men but those who glory in that pharisaick way.

Wherein men must be strangely impudent and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and say, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the church, after so ridiculous and indeed profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected but that in duties of frequent performance, as sacramental administrations and the like, which are still the same, ministers must either come to use their own forms constantly, which are not like to be so sound or comprehensive of the nature of the duty as forms of publick composition; or else they must every time affect new expressions when the subject is the same : which can hardly be presumed in any man's greatest sufficiencies, not to want many times much of that completeness, order, and gravity becoming those duties, which by this means are exposed at every celebration to every minister's private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders and defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconveniencies in the church unavoidably following every man's several manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the ancient churches, to remedy those mischiefs by the use of constant liturgies of publick composition.

The want of which, I believe, this church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many men's ungoverned ignorance and confident defects shall be discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders and uncharitable distractions in religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pity. However

However, if violence must needs bring in and abet those innovations (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which law, reason and religion forbids at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the publick liturgy ;

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used and maintained the service book ; or refusing to use it, cryed out of the rigour of the laws and bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their consciences in not using it.

That these men I say should so suddenly change the liturgy into a directory ; as if the spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions ; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the spirit, as if it were cloathed in and confined to fit words : (so slight and easy is that legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar)

That further, they should use such severity, as not to suffer without penalty any to use the common prayer-book publickly, altho' their consciences bind them to it, as a duty of piety to God and obedience to the laws.

Thus I see no men are prone to be greater tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, than such whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful constitutions, and whose licentious humours most pretended conscientious liberties : which freedom with much regret they now allow to me and my chaplains when they may have leave to serve me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way, comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of reason as well as laws, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the liturgy ; or to displease some faction of the people

by continuing the use of it. Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratify by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the common-prayer book, I believe was this, that it taught them to pray so oft for me : to which petitions they had not loyalty enough to say Amen, nor yet charity enough to forbear reproaches, and even curfings of me in their own forms, instead of praying for me.

I wish their repentance may be their only punishment ; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use and reverence to them, which by the ancient churches were given to set forms of sound and wholesome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever, whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy ; thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.—Let us not want the benefit of thy church's united and well advised devotions.—Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the same ; and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.—And then we doubt not but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.—Whose variety or constancy thou hast no-where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy church, that both may be used, neither despised.—Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use to help their infirmities.—And since the advantage of error consists in novelty and variety, as truth's in unity and constancy ; suffer not thy church to be pestered with errors, and deformed with indecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty : nor to be deprived of truth, unity and order, under this fallacy, that constancy is the cause of formality.—Lord, keep us from formal hypocrisy in our own hearts ; and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David and other holy men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.—Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will be less to mend without us.—Evermore defend and deliver thy church from the effects of blind zeal and over bold devotion. XVII. Of

XVII. *Of the differences between the king and the two houses in point of church-government.*

Touching the government of the church by bishops, the common jealousy hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of piety, as policy and reason of state.

Wherein so far indeed reason of state doth induce me to approve that government above any other, as I find it impossible for a prince to preserve the state in quiet, unless he hath such an influence upon churchmen, and they such a dependence on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of ministers tongues; who with the keys of heaven have so far the keys of the people's hearts, as they prevail much by their oratory to let in or shut out both peace and loyalty.

So that I being (as king) intrusted by God and the laws with the good both of church and state; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The removing bishops out of the house of peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their votes in state-affairs: though indeed I never thought any bishop worthy to sit in that house, who would not vote according to his conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that government in its right institution, as a matter of religion, wherein both my judgment is fully satisfied that it hath of all other the fullest scripture grounds, and also the constant practice of all christian churches; till of late years the tumultuariness of people, or the factiousness and pride of presbyters, or the covetousness of some states and princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under the specious titles of Christ's government, sceptre and kingdom, the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They

They must give me leave, having none of their temptations to invite me to alter the government of bishops, (that I may have a title to their estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new ways; contrary to the full and constant testimony of all histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men, that as the primitive churches were undoubtedly governed by the apostles, and their immediate successors, the first and best bishops, so it cannot, in reason or charity, be supposed, That all churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy pattern: that since the first age, for fifteen hundred years, not one example can be produced of any settled church, wherein were many ministers and congregations, which had not some bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universal practice agreeing with so large and evident scripture-directions and examples, as are set down in the epistles to Timothy and Titus, for the settling of that government, not in the persons only of Timothy and Titus, but in the succession; (the want of government being that which the church can no more dispense with in point of well being, than the want of the word and sacraments, in point of being)

I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eye upon bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the ecclesiastical use of them, and apostolical constitution: which to me seems no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those epistles, for the settling of a peculiar office, power and authority in them, as president-bishops above others, in point of ordination, censures, and other acts of ecclesiastical discipline; than those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of presbyter-bishops and deacons are described in some parts of the same epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now, not improperly be called *bishops*, as to the oversight and
care

care of single congregations committed to them by the apostles, or those apostolical bishops who (as Timothy and Titus) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many presbyters.

The humility of those first bishops avoiding the eminent title of apostles, as a name in the churches stile appropriated from its common notion (of a *messenger*, or *one sent*) to that special dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ; they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of bishops and presbyters, until use (the great arbitrator of words and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons whose power and office were indeed distinct from and above all other in the church, as succeeding the apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the churches, (the honour of whose name they moderately, yet commendably, declined) all christian churches, submitting to that special authority, appropriated also the name of *bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those who were, by apostolical propagation, rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and primitive churches: which, without all doubt, had many such holy bishops, after the pattern of Timothy and Titus; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all episcopal claim, as from divine right) than are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such, who not enduring sound doctrine, and clear testimonies, of all churches practice, are most perverse disputers and proud usurpers against true episcopacy: who, if they be not traitors and boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate, and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of godliness.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned

learned teachers, seek to overlay and smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of episcopal government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth by scripture and all after-histories of the church.

This I write rather like a divine than a prince, that posterity may see (if ever these papers be publick) that I had fair grounds, both from scripture-canons and ecclesiastical examples, whereon my judgment was stated for episcopal government.

Nor was it any policy of state, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their function, which fixed me; who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me, as to recompense the injuries and losses I and my dearest relations, with my kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this quarrel.

And not only in religion, of which scripture is the best rule, and the church's universal practice the best commentary; but also in right reason and the true nature of government, it cannot be thought that an orderly subordination among presbyters or ministers should be any more against christianity, than it is in all secular and civil governments, where parity breeds confusion and faction.

I can no more believe that such order is inconsistent with true religion, than good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor it is likely that God, who appointed several orders and a prelacy in the government of his church among the Jewish priests, should abhor or forbid them among christian ministers, who have as much of the principles of schism and division as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the apostolical wisdom (which was divine) after that christians were multiplied to many congregations, and presbyters with them, appointed this way of government, which might best preserve order and union with authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of princes
OR

or ambition of presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the apostles, that first settled bishops in the church; which authority they constantly used and enjoyed in those times which were purest for religion, though sharpest for persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this presidency and authority in one man by the joint counsel and consent of many presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities which are incident to any one man; also to avoid tyranny, which becomes no christians, least of all churchmen; besides it will be a means to take away that burden and odium of affairs which may lie too heavy on one man's shoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the bishops here.

Nor can I see what can be more agreeable both to reason and religion, than such a frame of government which is paternal, not magisterial: and wherein not only the necessity of avoiding faction and confusion, emulations and contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some ministers gifts, and aptitudes for government above others, doth invite to employ them, in reference to those abilities wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of mine touching episcopacy any preoccupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfy myself in what the chief patrons for other ways can say against this, or for theirs: and I find, as they have far less of scripture-grounds and of reason; so for examples, and practice of the church, or testimonies of histories, they are wholly destitute, wherein the whole stream runs so for episcopacy, that there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed churches (for many retain bishops still) whom necessity of times and affairs rather excuseth than commendeth for their inconformity to all antiquity;

I could never see any reason why churches orderly reformed, and governed by bishops, should be forced to conform to these few, rather than to the catholick example of all ancient churches which needed no reformation, and to those churches at this day, who, governed by bishops in all the christian world, are many more than presbyterians or independents can pretend to be: all whom the churches in my three kingdoms, lately governed by bishops, would equalize, I think, if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where christians differ (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the christian world, except a handful of some protestants, so great a scandal in point of church-government; whom though you may convince of their errors in some points of doctrine, yet you shall never persuade them, that to complete their reformation, they must necessarily desert and wholly cast off that government which they and all before them have ever owned as catholick, primitive, and apostolical, so far, that never schismatics nor hereticks (except those Arians) have strayed from the unity and conformity of the church in that point, ever having bishops above presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this government of bishops by the clergy as well as the laity of these kingdoms, is a great confirmation of my judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty. I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrary to their consciences: So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former oaths and practice, against their obedience to the laws in force, and against my consent, have not only quite cried down the government by bishops, but have approved and encouraged the violent and most

most illegal stripping all the bishops, and many other churchmen, of all their due authority and revenues, even to the selling away and utter alienation of those church-lands from any ecclesiastical uses. So great a power hath the stream of times and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can be given, besides the Scots army coming into England.

But the folly of these men will at last punish itself, and the deserters of episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to and betrayers of their own interest; for presbytery is never so considerable or effectual as when it is joined to and crowned with episcopacy. All ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving between the favour of the people and of princes, as plants do between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of clergymen will soon let them see what a poor carcass they are when parted from the influence of that head to whose supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs. I am firm to primitive episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, if I can hinder it. Discretion without passion might easily reform whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a gross vulgar error, to impute to or revenge upon the function the faults of times or persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of authority, civil honour and estate, which my predecessors and christian princes in all countries have annexed to bishops and churchmen, I look upon them but as just rewards of their learning and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of church-government; also enablements to works of charity and hospitality, meet strengthenings of their authority in point of respect and observance, which in peaceful times

times is hardly paid to any governors by the measure of their virtues so much as by that of their estates; poverty and meanness exposing them and their authority to the contempt of licentious minds and manners, which persecuting times much restrained.

I would have such men bishops as are most worthy of those encouragements, and best able to use them. If at any time my judgment of men failed, my good intention made my error venial: and some bishops I am sure I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety no men of any worth or forehead can deny. But of all men I would have churchmen, especially the governors, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (besides an innate principle of vicious opposition which is in all men against those that seem to reprove or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the presbyterian parity, which makes all ministers equal, and the independent inferiority, which sets their pastors below the people.

This for my judgment touching episcopacy; wherein God knows I do not gratify any design or passion with the least perverting of truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the christian world, whether it be just for subjects, or pious for christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force me, their king and sovereign, as some men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of my judgment, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest pretender of them desires not more than I do, that the church should be governed as Christ hath appointed, in true reason and in scripture, of which I could never see any probable shew for any other ways: who either content themselves with the examples of some churches in their infancy and solitude, when one presbyter might serve one congregation, in a city or country; or else they deny these most evident truths, That the apostles were bishops over those presbyters they ordained as well

as over the churches they planted; and, That government being necessary for the churches well-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the apostles to others, after the example of that power and superiority they had above others; which could not end with their persons, since the use and ends of such government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive, and best churches flourished under episcopacy; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyal passions had not so blown up some mens minds against it, that what they want of reasons or primitive patterns, they supply with violence and oppression; wherein some mens zeal for bishops lands, houses, and revenues, hath set them on work to eat up episcopacy: which, however other men esteem, to me is no less sin than sacrilege, or a robbery of God, the giver of all we have, of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his church and prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to my particular engagement above other men, by an oath agreeable to my judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that government and the rights of the church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the function, as antichristian, which some men boldly, but weakly, calumniate, I could soon with judgment break that oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being daily by the best disquisition of truth more confirmed in the reason and religion of that to which I am sworn, how can any man that wisheth not my damnation, persuade me at once to so notorious and combined sins of sacrilege and perjury? besides the many personal injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their estates as any who seek to deprive them; and they have by no law been convicted of those crimes which might forfeit their estates and livelihoods.

I have oft wondered, how men pretending to tenderness of conscience and reformation, can at once tell me that my coronation oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to me (which they urge with such violence) tho' contrary to all that rational and religious freedom which every man ought to preserve, and of which they seem so tender in their own votes; yet at the same time these men will needs persuade me, that I must and ought to dispense with, and roundly break that part of my oath which binds me (agreeable to the best light of reason and religion I have) to maintain the government and legal rights of the church. 'Tis strange my oath should be valid in that part, which both myself and all men in their own case esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very natural and essential liberty of our souls; yet it should be invalid and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think myself justly obliged both to God and man.

Yet upon this rack chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious covetousness and sacrilegious cruelty, torturing (with me) both church and state in civil dissensions, till I shall be forced to consent, and declare that I do approve what (God knows) I utterly dislike and in my soul abhor, as many ways highly against reason, justice and religion; and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonourably give my consent, yet should I not by so doing satisfy the divided interests and opinions of those parties which contend with each other, as well as both against me and episcopacy.

Nor can my late condescending to the Scots in point of church government be rightly objected against me, as an inducement for me to consent to the like in my other kingdoms: for it should be considered, that episcopacy was not so rooted and settled there as it is here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that kingdom as in this: for what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places and at all times.

If

If any shall impute my yielding to them as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it ; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point : nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happy and successful as to encourage me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to meekness, justice, order, charity, and loyalty, in those that pretend to other modes of government, I might suspect my judgment to be biased or forestalled with some prejudice and wontedness of opinion : but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new ways of government.

Nor can I find that in any reformed churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the churches under my dominion) either learning or religion, works of piety or charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in my kingdoms, (by God's blessing) which might make me believe either presbytery or independency have a more benign influence upon the church and mens hearts and lives, than episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which deserve to be extirpated as much as the use retained ; for I think it far better to hold to primitive and uniform antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right episcopacy would at once satisfy all just desires and interests of good bishops, humble presbyters, and sober people ; so as church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, parity, nor popularity ; neither bishops ejected, nor presbyters despised, nor people oppressed.

And in this integrity both of my judgment and conscience I hope God will preserve me.

For thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderness. As thou hast set me to be a defender of the faith, and a protector of thy church, so suffer me not by any violence to be overborne against my conscience.—Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own cause,
let

let not thy church be deformed as to that government, which, derived from thy apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the revenues of the church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the encouragements of learning and religion.—Make me as the good Samaritan, compassionate and helpful to thy afflicted church; which some men have wounded and robbed, others pass by without regard either to pity or relieve.—As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.—And though I am not suffered to be master of my other rights as a king: yet preserve me in that liberty of reason, love of religion, and thy church's welfare, which are fixed in my conscience as a christian.—Preserve from sacrilegious invasions those temporal blessings which thy providence hath bestowed on thy church for thy glory. Forgive their sins and errors who have deserved thy just permission thus to let in the wild boar and subtil foxes, to waste and deform thy vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of heaven so long watered to a happy and flourishing estate.—O let me not bear the infamous brand to all posterity, of being the first christian king in this kingdom who should consent to the oppression of thy church and the fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, than expose their persons and sacred functions to vulgar contempt.—Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with and for thy church; make no long tarrying, O my God, to deliver both me and it from unreasonable men, whose counsels have brought forth and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of thy church's peace, thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.—O thou God of order and of truth, in thy good time abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devices of thine, mine, and thy church's enemies, that I, and all that love thy church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnify thy salvation, even before the sons of men.

XVIII. Upon Uxbridge treaty, and other offers made by the king.

I Look upon the way of treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to arguing like men, whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldom get opportunities to treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of my reason, than my sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither myself nor others should
need

need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to treat; it being an office not only of humanity, rather to use reason than force, but also of christianity, to seek peace and ensue it.

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend myself with arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all war by the sword being very dubious, and of a civil war uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any success I had ever enhance with me the price of peace, as earnestly desired by me as any man, though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: all that I sought to reserve was mine honour and my conscience; the one I could not part with as a king, the other as a christian.

The treaty at Uxbridge gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation as I did, I am confident the war had then ended.

I was willing to condescend as far as reason, honour, and conscience would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essential to my people's happiness, or of such consequence, as in the least kind to have hindered my subjects either security or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both many years before ever those demands were made; some of which to deny I think the greatest justice to myself, and favour to my subjects.

I see jealousies are not so easily allayed as they are raised: some men are more afraid to retreat from violent engagements than to engage; what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the very name of peace odious and suspected.

In church-affairs, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of conscience upon me, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them as might have given fair satisfaction to all men whom faction, covetousness, or superstition had not engaged, more than any true zeal, charity, or love of reformation.

I was content to yield to all that might seem to advance true piety: I only fought to continue what was necessary in point of order, maintenance, and authority, to the church's government; and what I am persuaded (as I have elsewhere set down my thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true principles of all government, raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive apostolical pattern, and the practice of the universal church, conform thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without any probable reason urged or answered, only to satisfy some mens wills and phantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating episcopacy, and fighting against me) must needs argue such a softness and infirmity of mind in me, as will rather part with God's truth than man's peace; and rather lose the church's honour, than cross some mens factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccessfulness of that treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believe, I am very excusable both before God and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no less the restoration of peace to my people, than the preservation of my own crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings as arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an inflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand maxim with them was, always to ask something which in reason and honour must be denied,

nied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of war; endeavouring first to make me destroy myself by dishonourable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that treaty or any other produced, to let the world see how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publick peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any concessions or negations of mine: I have always the content of what I offered, and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set me not above a treaty, nor the lowest ebb below a fight; though I never thought it any sign of true valour to be prodigal of mens lives, rather than be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of any treaty, was some mens unwillingness to treat: which implied some things were to be gained by the sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by soldiers than by counsellors.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that treaty's breaking, and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the sword, a better opportunity to use such moderation as was then wanting; that so, though peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtained: what we could not get by our treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

O thou that art the God of reason and of peace, who disclaimest not to treat with sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thyself, who wantest no power or justice to destroy them, yet aboundest in mercy to save; soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and persuade us to accept of peace with thyself, and both to procure and preserve peace among ourselves, as men and christians. How oft have I intreated for peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to war?—Condemn us not to our passions,

which are destructive both of ourselves and of others. Clear up our understandings to see thy truth, both in reason, as men, and in religion, as christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.—Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among ourselves.—Remove the evils of war we have deserved; and bestow upon us that peace which only Christ our great peace-maker can merit.

XIX. Upon the various events of the war; victories and defeats.

THE various successes of this unhappy war have at least afforded me variety of good meditations. Sometimes God was pleased to try me with victory, by worsting my enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own and use his power, who is only the true Lord of Hosts, able when he pleases to repress the confidence of those that fought against me with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on my part he let me see that I was not wholly forsaken by my people's love or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise my patience, and teach me not to trust in the arm of flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were with me wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them and me. Nor were my enemies less punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft times overbalance the justice of publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of war a righteous cause. The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour, and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am sure the event or success can never state the justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens consciences, nor the eternal fate of their souls.

Those with me had, I think, clearly and undoubtedly for their justification the word of God and the laws of the land, together with their own oaths; all requiring obedience to my just commands; but to none other under heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising arms.

Those on the other side are forced to fly to the shifts of some pretended fears, and wild fundamentals of state (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of church and state; being such imaginary reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledge, who being my subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of me and the laws, first by unsuppressed tumults, after by listd forces. The same allegations they use, will fit any faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the sword all their demands against the present laws and governors; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a reformation of them to a rebellion against them.

Some parishick preachers have dared to call those martyrs, who died fighting against me, the laws, their oaths, and the religion established: but sober christians know, that glorious title can with truth be applied only to those who sincerely preferred God's truth and their duty in all these particulars before their lives and all that was dear to them in this world: who having no advantageous designs by any innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the church, and myself, which lay upon their souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did, through his mercy, crown many of them with eternal life whose lives were lost in so just a cause; the destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruin serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternal health and happiness, while the evident approach of death did, thro' God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such humility, faith, and repentance, which, together with the rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that which their enemies brutish and disloyal fierceness could deprive them of, or without repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed had the better against my side in the field, but never, I believe, at the bar of God's tribunal, or their own consciences ; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant reasons, both from law, allegiance, and all true christian grounds, which conflict with, and accuse them in their own thoughts, than they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those forces which sometimes God gave me.

Whose condition conquered and dying I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man (that duly values his duty, his soul and eternity beyond the enjoyments of this present life) than the most triumphant glory wherein their and mine enemies supervive ; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt wherewith their suspicious or now convicted consciences do pursue them ; especially since they and all the world have seen how false and unintended those pretensions were, which they first set forth as the only plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a war, and continuing it thus long against me and the laws established, in whose safety and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their country doth consist.

For and with all which it is far more honourable and comfortable to suffer, than to prosper in their ruin and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might join true piety with the sense of their loyalty, and be as faithful to God and their own souls as they were to me : that the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet

Yet I cannot think that any shews or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispense with, or expiate the defects of their duty and loyalty to me, which have so pregnant convictions on mens consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for me.

I never had any victory which was without my sorrow, because it was on mine own subjects, who, like Absalom, died many of them in their sin: and yet I never suffered any defeat which made me despair of God's mercy and defence.

I never desired such victories as might serve to conquer, but only restore the laws and liberties of my people; which I saw were extremely oppressed, together with my rights, by those men who were impatient of any just restraint.

When providence gave me or denied me victory, my desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly: who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the war, than to bring my enemies to moderation, and my friends to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others than over myself. When the first was denied, the second was granted me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: that by punishing our sins he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often messages for peace shewed that I delighted not in war; as my former concessions sufficiently testified how willingly I would have prevented it: and my total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my innocency forbad me to fear a war; but the love of my kingdoms commanded me, if possible, to avoid it.

I am guilty in this war of nothing but this, That

I gave such advantages to some men by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude which became their loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

It is now too late to review the occasions of the war; I wish only a happy conclusion of so unhappy beginnings. The inevitable fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings to destroy one another; for the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those victories are still miserable that leave our sins unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace itself is not desirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against ourselves, and less against God, we shall cease fighting one against another. I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these civil wars, that I may know better to obey God, and govern my people, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do I desire any man should be farther subject to me, than all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.—Teach me the noblest victory over myself and my enemies by patience; which was Christ's conquest, and may well become a christian king.—Between thy two hands, the right sometimes supporting and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.—Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength, thou withdrawest thine; and goest not forth with our armies.—Be thou all when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayest have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.—Thou, O Lord, knowest how hard it is for me to suffer so much evil from my subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel me to inflict upon them,
punishing

punishing myself in their punishments.—Since therefore both in conquering and being conquered I am still a sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy spirit, and that measure of grace which only can be sufficient for me.—As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed; that I may be not only happy to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed peace to my kingdoms.—Stir up in all parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-denial as becomes those who consider, that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the union of all is every good man's chiefest interest.—If, O Lord, as for the sins of our peace thou hast brought upon us the miseries of war, so for the sins of war thou shouldest see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me, thy servant, and all loyal (though afflicted) subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us nor take from us.—Impute not to me the blood of my subjects, which with infinite unwillingness and grief hath been shed by me in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that precious blood which hath been shed for me by my great peace-maker, Jesus Christ: who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles; for I know the triumphing of the wicked is but short, and the joy of hypocrites is but for a moment.

XX. *Upon the reformations of the times.*

NO glory is more to be envied than that of duly reforming either church or state, when deformities are such that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far as to make me an instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this parliament's first intentions, to reform what the indulgence of times and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedom of parliament was by factious tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good laws established and the religion settled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publick, and the infinite scandal of the reformed religion.

What dissolutions of all order and government in the church ; what novelties of schisms and corrupt opinions ; what indecencies and confusions in sacred administrations ; what sacrilegious invasions upon the rights and revenues of the church ; what contempt and oppressions of the clergy ; what injurious diminutions and persecutings of me, have followed (as showers do warm gleams) the talk of reformation, all sober men are witnesses, and with myself sad spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage, I think is, that popular clamours and fury have been allowed the reputation of zeal and the publick sense ; so that the study to please some parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartiality, are sure the best tempers of reforming counsels and endeavours : what is acted by factions cannot but offend more than it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in church affairs and religion to the free consultation of a synod or convocation rightly chosen ; the results of whose counsels, as they would have included the votes of all, so it is like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The assembly of divines, whom the two houses have applied (in an unwonted way) to advise of church affairs, I dislike, not further than that they are not legally convened and chosen, nor act in the name of all the clergy of England ; nor with freedom and impartiality can do any thing, being limited and confined, if not overawed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men, cried up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the liturgy and government of the church of England as to the main, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which they knew to be of apostolical institution at least, as of primitive and universal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages ; and if the influence of contrary
factions

factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous innovations in the church, without any regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the clergy, and in them of order, learning and religion; against examples of all antient churches, the laws in force, and my consent, which is never to be gained against so pregnant light as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that where the scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the constant and universal practice of the church, in things not contrary to reason, faith, good manners, or any positive command, is the best rule that christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to presbytery what with reason or discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with episcopacy: but for that wholly to invade the power, and by the sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the authority of that antient order, I think neither just as to episcopacy, nor safe for presbytery, nor yet any way convenient for this church or state.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate counsels, and such, I believe, as would have given more content even to the most of those divines who have been led on with much gravity and formality to carry on other mens designs: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of Christ's government, throne, sceptre, and kingdom (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have at least) as also the noise of a thorough reformation, may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of church windows, which time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of crosses, which were but civil, not religious marks; defacing of the

monuments and inscriptions of the dead, which served but to put posterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live; the leaving of all ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where no christian can tell to what he may say Amen, nor what adventure he may make of seeming, at least, to consent to the errors, blasphemies, and ridiculous indecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their prayers, preaching, and other offices; the setting forth also of old catechisms and confessions of faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear doctrine of faith in this church, before some four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts touching their first principles of religion.

All these and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful reformations (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long;) but all this amounts not to, nor can in justice merit the glory of the church's thorough reformation: since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, than when they began, in point of piety, morality, charity, and good order.

Nor can they easily recompense or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs which they have purchased so dearly, and which have and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last make it their unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: Had religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But some men thought that the government of the church and state, fixed by so many laws and long customs, would not run into their new molds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a civil war; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make myself and all my subjects fall down
and

and worship the images they should form and set up. If there had been as much of Christ's spirit for meekness, wisdom, and charity, in men's hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions to reform all to Christ's rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessings, and produced more of Christ's glory, the church's good, the honour of religion, and the unity of christians.

Publick reformers had need first act in private, and practise that on their own hearts which they purpose to try on others ; for deformities within will soon betray the pretenders of publick reformation to such private designs as must needs hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right methods of reforming the church cannot consist with that of perturbing the civil state, nor can religion be justly advanced by depressing loyalty, which is one of the chiefest ingredients and ornaments of true religion ; for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's kingdom may be set up without pulling down mine ; nor will any men in impartial times appear good christians, that approve not themselves good subjects.

Christ's government will confirm mine, not overthrow it ; since as I own mine from him, so I desire to rule for his glory and his church's good.

Had some men truly intended Christ's government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill governed in their words and actions both against me and one another.

As good ends cannot justify evil means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions ; unless God, by a miracle of mercy, create light out of darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who only canst give us beauty for ashes and truth for hypocrisy, suffer us not to be miserably deluded with pharisaical washings, instead of christian reformings.—Our greatest deformities are within : make us the severest censurers and first reformers

reformers of our own souls : — That we may in cleanness of judgment and uprightness of heart be a means to reform what is indeed amiss in church and state. — Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing. Pity the deformities which some rash and cruel reformers have brought upon this church and state ; quench the fires which factions have kindled under the pretence of reforming. — As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakness of their judgments ; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of christian and charitable reformations, wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousness, or sacrilege, may have any influence upon their counsels whom thy providence in just and lawful ways shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary a work. That I and my people may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

XXI. Upon his majesty's letters taken and divulged.

THE taking of my letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected, so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers : the greatest experiments of virtue and nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy ; and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers : the freedom and secrecy of which commands a civility from all men not wholly barbarous ; nor is there any thing more inhuman than to expose them to publick view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart (which I study to approve to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses or popular captations which some men use in their speeches and expresses. I wish my subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts :

Where

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own rights, than to procure their peace and happiness ; and that extreme grief to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my letters, than to see my constancy to my wife, the laws, and religion. Bees will gather honey where the spider sucks poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame who loves me or the common-wealth ; since my subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how some mens design, like Absalom's, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate. Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this as other indignities, but with charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury my expressions can do them : for altho' the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such letters which may be liable to envious exceptions ; yet the innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so stained or misinterpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composure of differences with justice and honour, not more to my own than my people's content, who have any sparks of love or loyalty left in them : who by those my letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my own and my kingdom's affairs, so as becomes a prince ; which mine enemies have always been very loth should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the dictates and directions of others, whom they please to brand with the name of evil counsellors.

It is probable some men will now look upon me as my own counsellor, and having none else to quarrel with,

with, under that notion they will hereafter confine their anger to myself: although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own thoughts, or follow the light of my own conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their counsels to be other than good for me, which have so long maintained a-war against me.

The victory they obtained that day when my letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the vulgar, with whom prosperity gains the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth to their greatest slighting and disrespect: as if good fortune were always the shadow of virtue and justice, and did not oftener attend vicious and injurious actions as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that cause which began with tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar.

They think no victories so effectual to their designs as those that most rout and waste my credit with my people; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of love, respect and loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover mine, the laws and the kingdom's liberties, which some men seek to overthrow. The taking away of my credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my life and my kingdoms: first I must neither seem fit to live, nor worthy to reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled first to follow the funerals of my honour, and then be destroyed. But I know God's unerring and impartial justice can and will over-rule the most perverse wills and designs of men; he is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the surprize of my letters I have lost any more than so many papers; how much they have lost of that reputation for civility and humanity,

manity, which ought to be paid to all men, and most becomes such as pretend to religion, besides that of respect and honour which they owe to their king, present and after times will judge. And I cannot think that their own consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of public flattery and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest the modest respect and filial tenderness which Noah's sons bare to their father; nor did his open infirmity justify Cham's impudence, or exempt him from the curse of being servant of servants: which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the people.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excusable or prosperous, who thought by this means to expose me to the highest reproach and contempt of my people; forgetting that duty of modest concealment which they owed to the father of their country, in case they had discovered any real uncomeliness, which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made me more respect in the hearts of many (as he did David) to whom they thought, by publishing my private letters, to have rendered me as a vile person, not fit to be trusted or considered under any notion of majesty.

But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence ordereth the greatest contingencies of human affairs, make me to see the constancy of thy mercies to me in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of my enemies against me.—As thou didst blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good and his own ruin: so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing my private letters nothing else but to render me more odious and contemptible to my people.—I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst witness with my integrity, how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which my
enemies

enemies endeavour by those papers of mine to represent to the world. Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby against me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion as with a cloak.—Thou seest how mine enemies use all means to cloud mine honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine anointed.—But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake and thy church's good.—Fix in me a purpose, to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and majesty which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour or dishonour, in good report or evil.—Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honour; thou art clothed with excellent majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdom; justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of honour and majesty which becomes the place in which thou hast set me, who art the litter up of my head, and my salvation.—Lord, by thy grace lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternal.

XXII. *Upon his majesty's leaving Oxford, and going to the Scots.*

ALthough God hath given me three kingdoms, yet in these he hath not now left me any place where I may with safety and honour rest my head; shewing me that himself is the safest refuge, and the strongest tower of defence, in which I may put my trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much as to God: he will have it thus; that I may wholly cast myself and my now distressed affairs upon his mercy, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What providence denies to force, it may grant to prudence; necessity is now my counsellor, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefeft strength, and adventuring upon their loyalty who first began my troubles. Haply God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of them may disarm and overcome them; my rendering my person to them may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, They fought not against me, but for me. I

I must now resolve the riddle of their loyalty, and give them opportunity to let the world see they mean not what they do, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest guard, and my conscience both my counsellor and my comforter. 'Tho' I put my body into their hands, yet I shall reserve my soul to God and myself; nor shall any necessities compel me to desert mine honour, or swerve from my judgment.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way, of unusual confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all military power to defend myself; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all human affairs, and so necessitous may the state of princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of peace may be more prosperous than that of war, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds already made. And in that I am no less solicitous for my friends safety than mine own; chusing to venture myself upon further hazards, rather than expose their resolute loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost: better fairly to give over than to contest in vain.

I must now study to reinforce my judgment and fortify my mind with reason and religion, that I may not seem to offer up my soul's liberty, or make my conscience their captive, who ought at first to have used arguments, not arms, to have persuaded my consent to their new demands.

I thank God no success darkens or disguises truth to me; and I shall no less conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the
words

words of a king ought to be among loyal subjects, full of power.

Reason is the divinest power; I shall never think myself weakened while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supply with inward resolutions: not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted, but not to grant any thing which reason and religion bids me deny.

I shall never think myself less than myself, while I am able thus to preserve the integrity of my conscience, the only jewel now left me which is worth keeping.

O thou sovereign of our souls, the only commander of our consciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: to the protection of thy mercy I still commend myself.—As thou hast preserved me in the day of battle, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weakness.—Be thou unto me in my darkest night a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hottest affliction be also a pillar of cloud, to overshadow and protect me; be to me both a sun and a shield.—Thou knowest that it is not any perverseness of will, but just persuasions of honour, reason, and religion, which have made me thus for to hazard my person, peace and safety, against those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.—Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward forces; let a good conscience always accompany me in my greatest solitude and desertions.—Suffer me not to betray the powers of reason, and that fortress of my soul which I am intrusted to keep for thee.—Lead me in the paths of thy righteousness, and shew me thy salvation.—Make my ways to please thee, and then thou wilt make mine enemies to be at peace with me.

XXIII. *Upon the Scots delivering the king to the English, and his captivity at Holdenby.*

YET may I justify those Scots to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me, for I never trusted to them farther than to men: if I am sold by them, I am only sorry they should do it; and that my price should be so much above my Saviour's.

These are but further essays which God will have me make.

of man's uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself, who never faileth them that trust in him. Though the reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him that leans on them; yet the rock of Israel will be an everlasting stay and defence.

God's providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy myself, whom I lose while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced gives me leisure enough to study the world's vanity and inconstancy.

God sees it fit to deprive me of wife, children, army, friends, and freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the unfortunate, if I be not in the black list of irreligious and sacrilegious princes.

No restraint shall ensnare my soul in sin, nor gain that of me which may make my enemies more insolent, my friends ashamed, or my name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph that they have got my person into their power, since my soul is still my own: nor shall they ever gain my consent against my conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which reason and religion, as well as honour, forbid me to recede.

It is evident now, that it was not evil counsellors with me, but a good conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should be such as they wish me; not more a king, and far less both man and christian.

What tumults and armies could not obtain, neither shall restraint; which though it have as little of safety to a prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never be my snare, nor shall the love of any liberty entangle my soul; better others betray

betray me than myself, and that the price of my liberty should be my conscience. The greatest injuries my enemies seek to inflict upon me cannot be without my own consent.

While I can deny with reason, I will defeat the greatest impression of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted, nor what to require more of me, but this, that I would seem willing to help them to destroy myself and mine.

Although they should destroy me, yet they shall have no cause to despise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so dear to me as the peace of my conscience, the honour of my crowns, and the welfare of my people; which my word may injure more than any war can do, while I gratify a few to oppress all.

The laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the love and loyalty of my subjects, if I bury them not by my consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonour and injustice which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a king miserable, which carries not with it his soul's, his people's, and posterity's thralldom.

After-times may see what the blindness of this age will not; and God may at length shew my subjects that I chose rather to suffer for them than with them. Haply I might redeem myself to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them. I had rather hazard the ruin of one king, than to confirm many tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of me, whose solitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely good and great, art with me, whose presence is better than life, and whose service is perfect freedom.—Own me for thy servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want of that liberty which becomes a man, a christian, and a king.—Bless me still with reason as a man, with religion as a christian, and with constancy in justice as a king.—Though thou

sufferest

suffereſt me to be ſtrip't of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe enjoyments wherein I may enjoy thyſelf, and which cannot be taken from me againſt my will.—Let no fire of affliction boil over my paſſion to any impatience or ſordid fears.—There be many ſay of me, there is no help for me: do thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I ſhall never want ſafety, liberty, or majeſty.—Give me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy which my condition now requires.—My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my perſon reſtrained: O be not thou far from me, leſt my enemies prevail too much againſt me.—I am become a wonder and a ſcorn to many: O be thou my helper and defender.—Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou, Lord, haſt holpen and comforted me. Eſtabliſh me with thy free ſpirit, that I may do and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldeſt have me.—Be merciful to me, O Lord, for my ſoul truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until theſe calamities be over-paſt.—Arise to deliver me; make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy and my Saviour's merit.—I know that my Redeemer liveth: though thou leadeſt me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

XXIV. *Upon their denying his majeſty the attendance of his chaplains.*

WHen providence was pleaſed to deprive me of all other civil comforts and ſecular attendants, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my chaplains; whom for their function I reverence, and for their fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in God's good time; ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpiritual harveſt of grace, amidſt the thorns and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciously pious and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto adds the wilderneſs to my temptations: for the company they obtrude upon me is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had aſked my revenues, my power of the militia,

litia, or any one of my kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policy of men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious usurpation: but to deny me the ghostly comfort of my chaplains, seems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever used by christians to the meanest prisoners and greatest malefactors; whom though the justice of the law deprives of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of religion allows them the benefit of their clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their bodies and to damn their souls.

But my agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good angel; for such I account a learned, godly, and discreet divine: and such I would have all mine to be.

They that envy my being a king, are loth I should be a christian, while they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my soul.

Other sence charity itself can hardly pick out of those many harsh repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my chaplains.

I have sometime thought, the unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own divines before their ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for my present comforters and physicians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy offices to be performed with me and for me; since their judgments standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, nor mine with theirs, either in prayer or other holy duties, as is meet and most comfortable;

fortable ; whose golden rule and bond of perfection consists in that of mutual love and charity.

Some remedies are worse than the disease, and some comforters more miserable than misery itself ; when, like Job's friends, they seek not to fortify one's mind with patience, but persuade a man, by betraying his own innocency, to despair of God's mercy ; and by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands and harden the hearts of insolent enemies.

I am so much a friend to all churchmen that have any thing in them befitting that sacred function, that I have hazarded my own interest chiefly upon conscience and constancy to maintain their rights : whom the more I looked upon as orphans, and under the sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious reformers ; the more I thought it my duty to appear as a father and a patron for them and the church. Although I am very unhandsomely requited by some of them, who may live to repent no less for my sufferings than their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanness which they have brought upon their calling and persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none : only I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for my special attendants, who were best approved in my judgment, and most suitable to my affection. For I held it better to seem indevout, and to hear no mens prayers than to be forced, or seem to comply with those petitions to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue say Amen, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In devotions I love neither profane boldness nor pious nonsense ; but such an humble and judicious gravity, as shews the speaker to be at once considerate of God's majesty, the church's honour, and his own vileness ; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a sinner to supplicate the divine mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all prayers that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately ; as ei-

ther wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or respect to the duty.

I confess I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated sermons, so with such publick forms of prayer as are fitted to the church's and every christi-
an's daily and common necessities: because I am by them better assured what I may join my heart unto, than I can be of any man's extemporary sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout retirements, where neither the solemnity of the duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness as to the outward manner of performance: though the light of understanding and the fervency of affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasional, solitary and social devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds, with as much reason to prefer the service of my own chaplains before that of their ministers, as I do the liturgy before their directory.

In the one I have been always educated and exercised; in the other I am not yet catechised nor acquainted: and if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain rule and canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composure and use, which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the common-prayer sometimes was by those men, a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against and condemning the government and liturgy of this church. But I had rather be condemned to the wo of *væ soli*, that to that of *væ vobis, hypocrita*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my deniers sufficient of myself to discharge my duty to God as a priest, though not to men as a prince.

Indeed I think both offices, regal and sacerdotal, might well become the same person; as anciently they were

were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture ; nor could I follow better precedents, if I were able, than those two eminent kings, David and Solomon ; not more famous for their sceptres and crowns, than one was for devout psalms and prayers, the other for his divine parables and preaching ; whence the one merited and assumed the name of a prophet, the other of a preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman emperors affected from the nations they subdued ; it being infinitely more glorious to convert souls to God's church by the word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the sword.

Yet since the order of God's wisdom and providence hath, for the most part, always distinguished the gifts and offices of kings and priests, of princes and preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian churches ; I am sorry to find myself reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive me of my kingly power and sovereignty, would no less enforce me to live many months without all prayers, sacraments, and sermons, unless I become my own chaplain.

As I owe the clergy the protection of a christian king, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers ; which I look upon as more prevalent than my own or other men's, by how much they flow from minds more enlightned and affections less distracted than those which are encumbered with secular affairs : besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attends those duties which are rightly performed, as proper to and within the limits of that calling to which God and the church have especially designed and consecrated some men. And however, as to that spiritual government by which the devout soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers itself and its services to God, every private believer is a king and a priest, invested with the honour of a royal priesthood ; yet as to ecclesiastical

stical order and the outward polity of the church, I think confusion in religion will as certainly follow every man's turning priest or preacher, as it will in the state where every one affects to rule as king.

I was always bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious principles: the consciousness to my spiritual defects makes me more prize and desire those pious assistances which holy and good ministers, either bishops or presbyters, may afford me; especially in these extremities to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my subjects to reduce me, so as to leave them nothing more but my life to take from me; and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might less provoke their jealousy and offence to deny me, than this, of having some means afforded me for my soul's comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no less than for their loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able and too well-affected toward me and my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve myself: though I must confess, I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my chaplains than of any other my servants, and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestered from my wife and children; since from these indeed more of human and temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternal improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his spirit will teach me, and help my infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other either orator or instructor.

To thee therefore, O my God, do I direct my now solitary prayers: what I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten my

my darkness, and quicken my dulness.—O thou sun of righteousness, thou sacred fountain of heavenly light and heat, at once clear and warm my heart, both by instructing of me, and interceding for me. In thee is all fulness, from thee is all sufficiency, by thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough : thou art my king, be also my prophet and my priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me, and be thou ever with me.—The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee in that sacred duel, when he had none to second him but thyself, who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.—O look on me thy servant in infinite mercy, whom thou didst once bless with the joint and sociated devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldness of my affections towards thee ; when we went to or met in thy house with the voice of joy and gladness, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits and with the bond of peace.—O forgive the neglect and not improving of those happy opportunities.—It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a pelican in the wilderness, as a sparrow on the house-top, and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings and devout reflections which might best kindle, preserve and increase the holy fire of thy graces on the altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers and incense of praises might be duly offered up to thee.—Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised reed, nor quenchest the smoking flax, do not despise the weakness of my prayers, nor the smotherings of my soul in this uncomfortable loneness, to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps which I much want, and no less desire.—O let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softening of mine to thee and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreasonable denials of my religious desires the more excite my prayers to thee ; let their inexorable deafness incline thine ear to me, who art a God easy to be intreated : thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear ; nor thy hand shortened, that it cannot help me thy desolate suppliant. Thou permittest men to deprive me of those outward means which thou hast appointed in thy church ; but they cannot debar me from the communion of that inward grace which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.—O make me such, and thou wilt teach me, thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me : the broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise. Thou, O Lord, canst at once make me thy temple, thy priest, thy sacrifice, and thine altar ; while from an humble heart I alone daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears, myself to thee, who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and acceptest of me.—Thou O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies and miraculous infusions, that the handful of meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little oil in the cruse fail the widow, during the time of drought and dearth.—O look on my soul, which, as a widow, is now desolate and forsaken : let not those saving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory ; nor the sweet effusions of thy spirit,

which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholesome food, for the refreshing of my soul.—Which yet I had rather choose, then to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting than teaching me; whose mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.—Thou knowest, O Lord of truth, how oft they wrest thy holy scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their subjection, and my preservation :) O let it not be to their damnation!—Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their brethren, their king, and their God.—O let not those mens balms break my head, nor their cordials oppress my heart: I will evermore pray against their wickedness.—From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire and the swords of their words, ever deliver me, O Lord, and all those loyal and religious hearts who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O my king, and my God.

XXV. Penitential meditations and vows in the king's solitude at Holdenby.

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my king and my God; for unto thee will I pray.

I said in mine haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou, Lord, shouldst be extreme to mark what is done amiss, who can abide it? but there is mercy with thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my sins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beseech thee, my personal and my people's sins, which are so far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest me, to thy glory and my subjects good. Thou hast now brought me from the glory and freedom of a king, to be a prisoner to my own subjects: justly, O Lord, as to thy overruling hand; because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though

Though thou hast restrained my person, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards me.

I come far short of David's piety ; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins be an evidence to me that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils which I and my kingdoms have suffered seem little unto thee, though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee, O Lord, unto me ; have mercy upon me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged : O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure ?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving-kindnesses which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodness in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery trial consume the dross which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace ; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of justice must be stretched out still ; let it, I beseech thee, be against me and my father's house : as for these sheep, what have they done ?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine and thy church's enemies : but let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee do thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee, so hear and accept this vow which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me and my kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy gospel, and settling thy true religion among us: in restoring to us the benefit of the laws, and the due execution of justice; in suppressing the many schisms in church, and factions in state: If thou wilt restore me and mine to the ancient rights and glory of my predecessors: If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thyself in piety, to me in loyalty, and to one another in charity: If thou wilt quench the flames and withdraw the fuel of these civil wars: If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of publick counsels, and deliver the honour of parliaments from the insolency of the vulgar: If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my conscience; and especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines and spoilings of thy church: If thou wilt restore me to a capacity to glorify thee, in doing good both to the church and state;

Then shall my soul praise thee, and magnify thy name before my people:

Then shall thy glory be dearer to me than my crowns, and the advancement of true religion both in purity and power be my chiefest care:

Then will I rule my people with justice, and my kingdoms with equity.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever owe, as the rightful succession, so the merciful restoration of my kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honour, to my chiefest city and my parliament:

If thou wilt again put the sword of justice into my hand, to punish and protect:

Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy, the benefit of this vow and resolution of christian charity which I now make unto thee, O Lord.

As

As I do freely pardon, for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the ways of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer, nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soul, commit thy way to the Lord; trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I, that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken; blessed be thy name. May my people and thy church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

XXVI. Upon the army's surprisal of the king at Holdenby, and the ensuing distractions in the two houses, the army, and the city.

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs I am not much solicitous: some little practice will serve that man who only seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of me tells the world, that a king cannot be so low but he is considerable, adding weight to that party where he appears.

This motion, like others of the times, seems eccentric and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins which

lately one womb inclosed, the younger striving to prevail against the elder; what the presbyterians have hunted after, the independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the builders of Babel should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build Jerusalem to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill omen, and sounds too like the fury of those zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that city.

Well may I change my keepers and prison, but not my captive condition; only with this hope of bettering, that those who are so much professed patrons for the peoples liberties, cannot be utterly against the liberty of their king: what they demand for their own consciences, they cannot in reason deny to mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous than the presbyterian rigor, who sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest exactors of other mens submission to their novel injunctions before they are stamped with the authority of laws, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument that the independents think themselves manumitted from their rivals service, in that they carry on a business of such consequence as the assuming my person into the army's custody, without any commission but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a king, must not be thought over-moderate or timorous to carry on any design they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces and scares both the two houses and the city: which soon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer

suffer for both, and see their former sin in the glass of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of divine justice : they that by tumults first occasioned the raising of armies, must now be chastened by their own army for new tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but add sin to sin, till the latter punish the former. Such as were content to see me and many members of both houses driven away by the first unsuppressed tumults, are now forced to fly to an army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice ? the members of both houses, who at first withdrew (as myself was forced to do) from the rudeness of the tumults, were counted deserters, and outed of their places in parliament : such as stayed then and enjoyed the benefit of the tumults, were asserted for the only parliament-men. Now the fliers from and forsakers of their places carry the parliamentary power along with them, complain highly against the tumults, and vindicate themselves by an army : such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and betrayers of the freedom and honour of parliament.

Thus is power above all rule, order and law, where men look more to present advantages then their consciences, and the unchangeable rules of justice : while they are judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against tumults holds good, the authors and abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies ; when as before they were counted as friends and necessary assistants.

I see vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the mice and rats are said to have done a bishop in Germany) them that thought to have escaped, and fortified themselves most impreguably against it both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but observe this divine justice, yet with sorrow and pity ; for I always wished so well to parliament and city, that I was sorry to see them do or suffer any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this kingdom.

I was glad to see them only scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking : I never had so ill a thought of those cities as to despair of their loyalty to me ; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them ; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over Jerusalem, as objects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty : fatal blindness frequently attending and punishing wilfulness, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows, who would not timely repent of their sins ; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comforts, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that brethren in iniquity are not far from becoming insolent enemies ; there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those motions which go rather in a round and circle of fancy than in a right line of reason tending to the law, the only centre of publick consistency ; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are to be subject to the known laws, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegal and extravagant ways, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of itself, and ends in a refractory fullness : peoples rebounds are oft in their faces who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the army (which is so far excusable as they act according to soldiers principles and interests,
demanding

demanding pay and indemnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publick peace, that they should be satisfied as far as is just ; no man being more prone to consider them than myself : though they have fought against me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintain myself, my laws, and my kingdoms, in such a peace as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect unity in a sacred trinity, in mercy behold those whom thy justice hath divided.—Deliver me from the strivings of my people, and make me to see how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against me, and yet are now ready to fight against one another, to the continuance of my kingdoms distractions.—Discover to all sides the ways of peace from which they have swerved : which consists not in the divided wills of parties, but in the joint and due observation of the laws.—Make me willing to go whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence ; and be thou ever with me, that I may see thy constancy in the world's variety and changes.—Make me even such as thou wouldest have me, that I may at last enjoy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give me.—Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, the heavy wrath justly hanging over those populous cities, whose plenty is prone to add fuel to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.—Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace ; lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.—Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in sin ; nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves than ever they did against me.—Their sins exposing them to thy justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to tumults, and their tumults to confusion.—Though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy me, yet let not my fall be their ruin.—Let me not so much consider either what they have done or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate my crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon ; and in my dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to them, for they knew not what they did.—The tears they have denied me in my saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves ; who the less they weep for me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.—O let not my blood be upon them and their children, whom the fraud and faction

tion of some, not the malice of all, have excited to crucify me. — But thou, O Lord, canst and wilt (as thou didst my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by thy sufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy, than of man's cruelty or thy own justice.

XXVII. *To the Prince of Wales.*

SON, if these papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed, they may be so far useful to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use can be made; and they may also give you some directions, how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of myself and useful to you; that neither you nor any other may hereafter measure my cause by the success, nor my judgment of things by my misfortunes: which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you, and some others, whom I have most cause to love as well as myself, and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most princes, that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles and exercise of patience; wherein piety, and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in the warmth and serenity of times, or amidst those delights which usually attend princes courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone either to root up all plants of true virtue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the publick

lick good, for which princes should always remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam; the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing kingdom; the other softened by the unparalleled prosperity of Solomon's court, and so corrupted, to the great diminution both for peace, honour and kingdom, by those flatteries which are as inseparable from prosperous princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be Charles le Bon than le Grand, good than great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his graces and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those princely endowments and employments which will most gain the love and intend the welfare of those over whom God shall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is king of kings, the sovereign disposer of the kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one and setteth up another.

The best government and highest sovereignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him, that the sceptre of his word and spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of princes consists in advancing God's glory, in the maintenance of true religion and the church's good; also in the dispensation of civil power with justice and honour to the publick peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable: nor is he much a loser that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which centre of true happiness, God (I trust) hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup where-
of

of I have liberally drank, which I look upon as God's phyfic, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in your religion; the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the church of England, in which you have been educated: yet I would have your own judgment and reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own religion, and not other mens custom or tradition, which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's word for doctrine, and to the primitive examples for government, with some little amendment, which I have other-where expressed, and often offered, tho' in vain. Your fixation in matters of religion will not be more necessary for your soul's than your kingdoms peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the devil of rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation, and the old serpent can pretend new lights. When some mens consciences accuse them for sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of religion; when piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.

So that unless in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretensions of reforming matters of religion; for that seems, even to worst men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where besides the novelty, which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward reformation of religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any public discriminations in matters of religion, contrary

trary to what is in your own judgment, and the church well settled. Your partial adhering, as head, to any one side, gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to be of their king's religion) as it loseth you in others, who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesy, you are undone: the serpent will devour the dove. You may never expect less of loyalty, justice or humanity, than from those who engage into religious rebellion: their interest is always made God's; under the colour of piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy: you may hear from them Jacob's voice, but you shall feel they have Esau's hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable than the presbyterian faction in England for many years, so compliant they were to public order: nor indeed was their party great either in church or state, as to mens judgments. But as soon as discontents drove men into sidings, as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations, so did all at first who affected any novelties adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of religion.

All the lesser factions at first were officious servants to presbytery, their great master; till time and military success discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joint stock of uniform religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the church and state, but even of presbytery itself, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in mat-

ters which concern religion and the church's peace; so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectual suppressing errors and schisms, which seem at first as but a handbreath, yet by seditious spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul, and his church, in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend and move is that of civil justice, wherein the settled laws of these kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by: which by an admirable temperament, give very much to subjects industry, liberty, and happiness, and yet reserve enough to the majesty and prerogative of any king, who owns his people as subjects, not as slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your rights, nor their ingenuous liberties, which consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a crown as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole body; the weakness of whose parts cannot return any thing of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigour of the laws; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny.

In these two points, the preservation of established religion and laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honour of a kind of martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own conscience; the troublers of my kingdoms having nothing else to object against me but this, That I prefer religion and laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do and ever shall, till I am convinced by better arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, tumults, armies, and prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a king to gratify any faction with the perturbation of the laws, in which is wrapped up the publick interest and the good of the community.

How God will deal with me as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell : nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for reformation and safety that in reason, honour, and conscience I can ; reserving only what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the church, and my people, and to you also, as the next and undoubted heir of my kingdoms.

To which if the divine providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after my decease bring you, as I hope he will, my counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of religion and justice) as to create in yourself or others a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of your crown and kingdom than any man's.

Next, beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some mens passions, humours, or private opinions, employed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecut-

persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of laws and government, or religion established, as to the essentials of them: such motions and meanings are intolerable.

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental truths which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of religion devour not all or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye and impartial hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodness, both in abilities and fidelity, worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, tho' they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of virtue at any time sweetened by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the laws established in church and state:) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common enemy (that is, all those that adhered to the laws and to me) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other than against their first antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves, which were at first wrapped up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of religion, reformation, and liberty. As the wolf is not less cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a wolf under sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced train of the vulgar, who in
their

their simplicity follow those disguises, my charge and counsel to you is, that as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, piety, and virtue, towards the people) even all those men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of religion; so you shall neither fear any detection (as they do who have but the face and mask of goodness;) nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people, who cannot in reason promise themselves so much good from any subjects novelties, as from the virtuous constancy of their king.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall by the sunshine of God's mercy and the splendor of your virtues be thawed and dissipated, and the abused vulgar shall have learned that none are greater oppressors of their estates, liberties and consciences, than those men that entitle themselves the patrons and vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; let then no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those whose own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered acts of indemnity and oblivion to so great a latitude, as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the laws; and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you always propense to the same way; whenever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of state-policy and necessity, but of christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be. Be

Be confident, as I am, that the most of all sides who have done amiss, have done so not out of malice, but from misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to me and you than those subjects, who sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any duel with any subject; so the nobleness of your mind must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing any anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's mercy and my subjects affections towards you, both which I hope you will study to deserve, yet we cannot merit of God but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments which the laws have assigned to us, and no subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can divest us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to God's glory, your own honour, and the kingdoms peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity, (which the perfecting some mens designs requires) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me; I do require and intreat you as your father and your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against or disaffection from the true religion established in the church of England.

I tell you, I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not also in the community, as christian, but only in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle way, between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastick anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for doctrine and government, in the church of England) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetning or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the protestant religion established in England, is easily answered to them or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late war against the church, the laws, and me, either was or is a true lover, embracer, or practiser of the protestant religion established in England: which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening petitions to their princes and parliaments, which others of the same faction (but of worse spirits) have now put in execution. But let not counterfeit and disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem of true piety: both of them are to be known by their fruits. The sweetness of the vine and fig-tree is not to be despised, though the brambles and thorns should pretend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any averfaction or dislike of parliaments; which in their right constitution, with freedom and honour, will never injure or diminish your greatness; but will rather be as
interchangings

interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence between a prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black parliament have been other than such (however much biased by factions in the elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates and tumultuary impressions : the sad effects of which will, no doubt, make all parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that freedom and honour which belongs to such assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment,) since the publick interest consists in the mutual and common good both of prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave and honourable ways to contribute their counsels in common, enacting all things by publick consent, without tyranny or tumults. We must not starve ourselves, because some men have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our rights, but God in his severest justice will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness ; I hope God will give me and you that grace, which will teach and enable us to want as well as to wear a crown, which is not worth taking up or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you shall never want a kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist in your conferring all respect, love and protection on your mother, my wife ; who hath many ways deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children, all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care) she hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both for and with me and you.

My prayer to God almighty is, (whatever becomes
of

me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency and his grace) that he would be pleased to make you an anchor, or harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten kingdoms : a repairer, by your wisdom, justice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in church or state, to the crown, the nobility, the clergy, or the commons, either as to laws, liberties, estates, order, honour, conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven ; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the artifice and hypocrisy of their leaders, whose inward horror will be their first tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God they may have no miss of me when I am gone ; so much I wish and hope that all good subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a christian king ; so I believe you will find them truly zealous to repay with interest that loyalty and love to you which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended, do you perform, when God shall give you power. Much good I have offered, more I purposed to church and state, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace : this mask of religion on the face of rebellion (for so it now plainly appears, since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your
Vol. I. H subjects

Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, that religion to their God and loyalty to their king cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you, and establish your kingdoms in righteousness, your soul in true religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever with my name live in you, as of your father that loves you, and once a king of three flourishing kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour not only with the sceptre and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them, while I studied to preserve the rights of the church, the power of the laws, the honour of my crown, the privilege of parliaments, the liberties of my people, and my own conscience; which, I thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore me to my rights: I cannot despair either of his mercy, or of my people's love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewel, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven.

XXVIII. Meditations upon death, after the votes of non-addresses, and his majesty's closer imprisonment in Carisbrook-castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my death; for I know there are but few steps between the prisons and graves of princes.

It is God's indulgence which gives me the space, but man's cruelty that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortality, which lies upon me as a man, I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envy or enmity against me makes

makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality; those are never unseasonable, since this is always uncertain; death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy days.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those natural antipathies between life and death which are in all men, that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled, and the special horror of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for although my death at present may justly be represented to me with all those terrible aggravations which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those stings as unpoisonous, though sharp, since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much the life of religion, the feast of a good conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of death.

I am not so old as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, that it is the greatest glory of a christian's life to die daily, in conquering, by a lively faith and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a king, I think myself to live in nothing temporal so much as in the love and good-will of my people; for which as I have suffered many

deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead; notwithstanding my enemies have used all the poison of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and loyalty which is in my subjects, and then all that content of life in me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts for which life itself seems desirable to men.

But, O my soul, think not that life too long or tedious wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such christian patience and magnanimity in a good cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of weariness of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a christian, in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions which as shadows necessarily attend us while we are in this body, and which are lessened or enlarged as the sun of our prosperity moves higher or lower; whose total absence is best recompensed with the dew of heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like Samson's lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a man is certain: that I may die a king by the hands of my own subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my kingdoms, my friends and loving subjects being helpless spectators, my enemies insolent revilers and triumphers over me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in human reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise as to man's cruelty; however I despair not of God's infinite mer-

I know my life is the object of the devil's and wicked mens malice; but yet under God's sole custody and disposal; whom I do not think to flatter for longer life, by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to me.

I confess it is not easy for me to contend with those many horrors of death wherewith God suffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid either in the suddenness of a barbarous assassination, or in those greater formalities whereby my enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockery of justice to the cruelty of malice. That I may be destroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice; so with less pity, it will be but a necessary policy, to make my death appear as an act of justice done by subjects upon their sovereign; who know that no law of God or man invests them with any power of judicature without me, much less against me; and who, being sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour my preservation, must pretend justice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his enemies to be his accusers, parties, and judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of subjects against their sovereign; wherein those who have had the chiefeft hand, and are most guilty of contriving the public troubles, must by shedding my blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man, and, I believe, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by tumults, after by armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly cruel in managing their usurping power against their lawful superiors, than this, the guilt of their unjust usurpation; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of justice against delinquents, applied only to disguise at first the monstrousness of their designs, who de-

spaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the vineyard, till the heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With them my greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy myself, with the church and state, by my word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the sword; whose covetous ambition no concessions of mine could ever yet either satisfy or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that kingdom of brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive, till watered with the royal blood of those whose right the kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done; I doubt not but my innocency will find him both my protector and my advocate, who is my only judge, whom I own as king of kings; not only for the eminency of his power and majesty above them, but also for that singular care and protection which he hath over them; who knows them to be exposed to as many dangers (being the greatest patrons of law, justice, order, and religion on earth) as there be either men or devils which love confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their Babel, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their kings.

I am confident they will find avengers of my death among themselves: the injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it then by shedding theirs who with them most thirsted after mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction are already presaged and confirmed to me by those I have lived to see since my troubles, in which God alone (who only could) hath many ways pleaded my cause; not suffering them to go unpunished whose confederacy in sin was their only security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance afterward destroy them. My

My greatest conquest of death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallowed up death in the victory of his resurrection and the glory of his ascension.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not only this honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of tyranny and injustice) but also that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon and victory over my destroyers; by which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my blood to them, further than to convince them what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding mine.

At present, the will of my enemies seems to be their only rule, their power the measure, and their success the exactor of what they please to call justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own safety by my danger, and the security of their lives and designs by my death; forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I pray not so much that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from me, as that of his wrath may pass from all those whose hands by deserting me are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my death are embrued with my blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a christian toward his enemies, and a king toward his subjects.

They cannot deprive me of more then I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy, I believe, will more than infinitely recompense whatever by man's injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will far surpass all I could enjoy or conceive in life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenly kingdom with himself.

For the censures of the world, I know the sharp and necessary tyranny of my destroyers will sufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny against me : I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ablest and best of my subjects, who do not only pity and pray for me, but would be content even to die with me or for me.

These know how to excuse my failings as a man, and yet to retain and pay their duty to me as their king ; there being no religious necessity binding any subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their princes, especially there where more than sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick ; the enjoyment of which private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers and less advantaged by my ruin, do already feel sharp convictions, and some remorse in their consciences ; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against me in the measure of God's retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretence of paring others nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of Korah and his complices (at once mutinying against both prince and priest) in such a method of divine justice as is not ordinary ; the earth of the lowest and meanest people opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used authority, upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against me, the church, and state.

My chiefest comfort in death consists in my peace
which

which, I trust, is made with God ; before whose exact tribunal I shall not fear to appear as to the cause so long disputed by the sword between me and my causeless enemies : where I doubt not but his righteous judgment will confute their fallacy, who from worldly success (rather like sophisters then sound christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions ; whose wise providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word (the only clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the justice of my cause and clearness of my conscience before God and toward my people will carry me as much above them in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion : who consider not that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from hell as to the injuriousness and oppression of the design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of pirates, do not justify their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of soul, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for and vindication of the laws of the land, the freedom and honour of parliaments, the rights of my crown, the just liberty of my subjects, and the true christian religion in its doctrine, government and due encouragements, than if I had with the greatest advantages of success overborne them all ; as some men have now evidently done, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my friends and loving subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup ; which I doubt not but I shall more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand, (if it must be so) than they can give it to me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event I may seem to owe more to my enemies than my friends ; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than conqueror through Christ enabling me, for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the author of truth, order, and peace ; for all which I have been forced to contend against error, faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdom : where the debt of death which I owe for sin to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept ; and altho' death be the wages of my own sin as from God, and the effect of others sins as men, both against God and me ; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted that they shall be no ingredients to im-bitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sins who are most guilty of my destruction.

The trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned. Both which I pray God they may obtain ; that my temporal death unjustly inflicted by them may not be revenged by God's just inflicting eternal death upon them ; for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest king as far less deprecable than the eternal damnation of the meanest subject.

Nor do I wish other than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard : though it be very strange, that mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their pilot.

I thank God, my enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation : whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my soul with my body : of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my chaplains, hath
rather

rather enlarged than any way obstructed my access to the throne of heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of kings, who fillest heaven and earth, who art the fountain of eternal life, in whom is no shadow of death.—Thou, O God, art both the just inflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it and from it.—Yea it is better for us to be dead to ourselves, and live in thee, than by living in ourselves to be deprived of thee.—O make the many bitter aggravations of my death, as a man and a king, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in my soul, as a christian.—If thou, Lord, wilt be with me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk thro' the valley of the shadow of death.—To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortal God.—O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a man, make me to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee my God.—Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest forever.—Though thou slayest me, yet thou hast encouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.—O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.—O be not far from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruel death is to me.—As thy omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy omnipotence can defeat the designs of those who have, or shall conspire my destruction.—O shew me the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of theirs.—Thou givest me leave, as a man, to pray that this cup may pass from me; but thou hast taught me, as a christian, by the example of Christ, to add, Not my will, but thine be done.—Yea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.—As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrors of my death.—Make me content to leave the world's nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life gain, and in death advantage.—Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me: yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be merciful to them.—For what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my kingdoms, if they lose their own souls?—Such as have not only resisted my just power, but wholly usurped and turned it against myself, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation. Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many that crucified him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.—O let the voice of his blood be heard for my murderers, louder than the cry of mine against them.—Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sin, and let them not at once deceive and damn their own souls, by fallacious pretensions of justice in destroying me; while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.—O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as

very false, so very cruel ; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.—O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men ; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.—And when thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted yet penitent souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying angel may pass over them.—Though they think my kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me ; yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.—When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.—When their hands shall be heaviest and cruelest upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal mercies.—That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaid in thy ever-blessed eternity.—Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt.

The PAPERS which passed betwixt His Sacred MAJESTY and Mr *Alexander Henderson*, concerning the Change of Church-Government.

At Newcastle, 1646.

I. *His Majesty's first paper, For Mr Alexander Henderson.*

Mr. Henderson,

I Know very well what a great disadvantage it is for me, to maintain an argument of divinity with so able and learned a man as yourself, it being your, not my profession ; which really was the cause that made me desire to hear some learned man argue my opinion with you, of whose abilities I might be confident, that I should not be led into an error, for want of having all which could be said laid open unto me. For indeed my humour is such, that I am still partial for that side which I imagine suffers for the weakness of those that maintain it : always thinking that equal champions would cast the balance on the other part. Yet since that you (thinking that it will save time) desire to go another way, I shall not contest with you
in

in it, but treating you as my physician, give you leave to take your own way of cure : only I thought fit to warn you, lest if you (not I) should be mistaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know that from my infancy I was blest with the king my father's love, which, I thank God, was an invaluable happiness to me all his days ; and among all his cares for my education, his chief was, to settle me right in religion ; in the true knowledge of which he made himself so eminent to all the world, that I am sure none can call in question the brightness of his fame in that particular, without shewing their own ignorant base malice. He it was who laid in me the grounds of christianity, which to this day I have been constant in. So that whether the worthiness of my instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been settled in my principles : it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easy work to make me alter them : and the rather, that hitherto I have (according to St Paul's rule, *Rom. xiv. 22.*) been happy in *Not condemning myself in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you how, it remains to tell you what I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions:

No one thing made me more reverence the reformation of my mother, the church of England, than that it was done (according to the apostle's defence, *Acts xxiv. 18.*) *neither with multitude nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly, and by those whom I conceive to have the reforming power ; which, with many other inducements, made me always confident that the work was very perfect as to essentials ; of which number church-government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered if there had been cause. Which opinion of mine was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing, but according as it was deduced from the apostles to be the constant universal custom of the primitive church ; and that it was of such consequence, as by
the

the alteration of it we should deprive ourselves of a lawful priesthood ; and then, how the sacraments can be duly administred, is easy to judge. These are the principal reasons which make me believe that bishops are necessary for a church, and, I think, sufficient for me (if I had no more) not to give my consent for their expulsion out of England. But I have another obligation, that to my particular is a no less tie of conscience, which is, my coronation oath. Now if (as St Paul saith, *Rom. xiv. 23.*) *He that doubteth is damned, if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to my people's sinning, but likewise be perjured myself ?

Now consider, ought I not to keep *myself from presumptuous sins* ? and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul* ? Wherefore my constant maintenance of episcopacy in England (where there was never any other government since christianity was in this kingdom) methinks, should be rather commended than wondered at ; my conscience directing me to maintain the laws of the land ; which being only my endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, what warrant there is in the word of God, for subjects to endeavour to force their king's conscience, or to make him alter laws against his will. If this be not my present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken ; or if my judgment in religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed : till when you must excuse me, to be constant to the grounds which the king my father taught me.

Newcastle, May 29, 1646.

C. R.

II. *Mr Alex^r Henderson's first paper for his Majesty.*

S I R,

IT is your majesty's royal goodness, and not my merit, that hath made your majesty to conceive any opinion of my abilities ; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your majesty) ought in all duty to be improved for your majesty's satisfaction. And this I intended in my coming here at this time,

time, by a free, yet modest, expression of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the dislike of episcopal government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the university. Likeas I did apprehend that it was not your majesty's purpose to have the question disputed by divines on both sides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cause) have undertaken alone, and which seldom or never hath proved an effectual way for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquish their former tenents, *Dum res transit à judicio in affectum*; witness the polemicks between the papists and us, and among ourselves about the matter now in hand, these many years past.

1. Sir, when I consider your majesty's education under the hand of such a father, the length of time wherein your majesty hath been settled in your principles of church-government, the arguments which have continually, in private and public, especially of late at Oxford, filled your majesty's ears for the divine right thereof, your coronation-oath, and divers state reasons which your majesty doth not mention; I do not wonder, nor think it any strange thing, that your majesty hath not at first given place to a contrary impression. I remember that the famous *Joannes Picus Mirandula* proveth, by irrefragable reasons (which no rational man will contradict), "That no man hath so much power over his own understanding, as to make himself believe that he will, or to think that to be true which his reason telleth him is false; much less is it possible for any man to have his reason commanded by the will or at the pleasure of another."

2. It is a true saying of the school-men, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quoad specificationem*; mine own will or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter, but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my reason teacheth me. Yet, Sir, I hope your majesty will acknowledge (for your paper professeth no less) that according to the saying of Ambrose,

Non

Non est pudor ad meliora transire, it is neither sin nor shame to change to the better. Symmachus, in one of his epistles (I think to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian) allegeth all these motives from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the Roman empire, and from the laws of the land, to persuade them to constancy in the antient Pagan profession of the Romans, against the embracing of the christian faith. The like reasons were used by the Jews for Moses against Christ; and may be used both for popery and for the papacy itself against the reformation of religion and church-government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now than they had in former times.

3. But your majesty may perhaps say, that this is *petitio principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the question: and I confess it were so, if there can be no reasons brought for a reformation or change. Your majesty reverences the reformation of the church of England, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the reforming power; and I do not deny but it were to be wished that religion, where there is need, were always reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, nor left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when princes are negligent. Thus did Jacob reform his own family, Moses destroy the golden calf, the good kings of Judah reformed the church in their time: but that such reformation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. Asa took away idolatry, but his reformation was not perfect; for Jehosaphat removed the high places, yet was not his reformation perfect; for it was Hezekiah that brake the brazen serpent, and Josiah destroyed the idol temples, who therefore beareth this elogy, that like unto him there was no king before him. It is too well known that the reformation of K. Henry VIII. was most imperfect in the essentials of doctrine, worship, and government; and although it proceed-

ed by some degrees afterward, yet the government was never reformed; the head was changed, *dominus non dominium*, and the whole limbs of the antichristian hierarchy retained, upon what snares and temptations of avarice and ambition, the great enchanters of the clergy, I need not express. It was a hard saying of Romanorum Malleus, Grosthead of Lincoln, that reformation was not to be expected, *nisi in ore gladii cruentandi*. Yet this I may say, that the Laodicean lukewarmness of reformation here hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this kingdom; occasion of more schism and separation than ever was heard of in any other church, and of unspeakable grief and sorrow to other churches, which God did bless with greater purity of reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reserved for your majesty, that to your comfort and everlasting fame the praise of godly Josiah may be made yours; which yet will be no dispraise to your royal father, or Edward the VI. or any other religious princes before you; none of them having so fair an opportunity as is now by the supreme providence put into your royal hands. My soul trembleth to think and to foresee what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected.— I will neither use the words of Mordecai, *Esth.* iv. 14. nor what Savonarola told another Charles, because I hope better things from your majesty.

4. To the argument brought by your majesty (which I believe none of your doctors, had they been all about you, could more briefly, and yet so fully and strongly, have expressed) “ That nothing was retained in this church but according as it was deduced from the apostles to the constant universal practice of the primitive church: and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it we should deprive ourselves of the lawfulness of priesthood; (I think your majesty means a lawful ministry) and then how the sacraments can be administered is easy to judge.” I humbly offer these considerations: First, what was not in the times of the apostles, cannot be deduced from them. We say in Scotland, “ It
“ can-

“ cannot be brought but, that is not the ben:” but (not to insist now on a liturgy and things of that kind) there was no such hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter in the times of the apostles, and therefore it cannot hence be deduced: for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a sun-beam, that presbyter and bishop are to the apostles one and the same thing; no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree, betwixt the one and the other, but a mere identity in all. 2. That the apostles intending to set down the offices and officers of the church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that not upon occasion, but of set purpose, do neither express nor imply any such pastor or bishop as hath power over other pastors; although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly expressed the office, gifts, and duties of the meanest officers, such as deacons. 3. That in the ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautiful, and divine order and subordination; one kind of ministers both ordinary and extraordinary, being placed in degree and dignity before another, as the apostles first, the evangelists, pastors, doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in offices of the same kind, that one had majority of power or priority of degree before another; no apostle above other apostles (unless in moral respects) no evangelist above other evangelists, or deacon above other deacons; why then a pastor above other pastors? In all other sorts of ministers ordinary and extraordinary, a parity in their own kind, only in the office of pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the ministry, which are commonly called, the power of order and jurisdiction, are by the apostles declared to be common to the presbyter and bishop: and that, *Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17.* the gradation in matter of discipline or church-censures is from one to two or more; and *if he shall neglect them, tell it to the church:* he saith not, tell it to the bishop; there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent

eminent. If these considerations do not satisfy, your majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that argument, from the practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers. It is the argument of the papists for such traditions as no orthodox divine will admit. The law and testimony must be the rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the church for many years: Eusebius the prime historian confesseth so much: the learned Josephus Scaliger testifieth, that from the end of the Acts of the Apostles until a good time after, no certainty can be had from ecclesiastical authors about church matters. It is true, Diotrephes sought the preeminence in the apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work, and no doubt in after-times, some puffed up with ambition, and others overtaken with weakness, endeavoured alteration of church-government; but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your majesty will deny the lawfulness of a ministry and the due administration of the sacraments in the reformed churches which have no diocesan bishops, fith it is not only manifest by scripture, but a great many of the strongest champions for episcopacy do confess, that presbyters may ordain other presbyters; and that baptism administred by a private person, wanting a public calling, or by a midwife and by a presbyter, although not ordained by a bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other argument taken from your majesty's coronation-oath, I confess that both in the taking and keeping of an oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of religion) much tenderness is required: and far be it from us, who desire to observe our own solemn oath, to press your majesty with the violation of yours. Yet, Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before
might.

“ cannot be brought but, that is not the ben:” but (not to insist now on a liturgy and things of that kind) there was no such hierarchy, no such difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter in the times of the apostles, and therefore it cannot hence be deduced: for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a sun-beam, that presbyter and bishop are to the apostles one and the same thing; no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree, betwixt the one and the other, but a mere identity in all. 2. That the apostles intending to set down the offices and officers of the church, and speaking so often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that not upon occasion, but of set purpose, do neither express nor imply any such pastor or bishop as hath power over other pastors; although it be true, that they have distinctly and particularly expressed the office, gifts, and duties of the meanest officers, such as deacons. 3. That in the ministry of the New Testament there is a comely, beautiful, and divine order and subordination; one kind of ministers both ordinary and extraordinary, being placed in degree and dignity before another, as the apostles first, the evangelists, pastors, doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot find in offices of the same kind, that one had majority of power or priority of degree before another; no apostle above other apostles (unless in moral respects) no evangelist above other evangelists, or deacon above other deacons; why then a pastor above other pastors? In all other sorts of ministers ordinary and extraordinary, a parity in their own kind, only in the office of pastor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the ministry, which are commonly called, the power of order and jurisdiction, are by the apostles declared to be common to the presbyter and bishop: and that, *Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17.* the gradation in matter of discipline or church-censures is from one to two or more; and *if he shall neglect them, tell it to the church:* he saith not, tell it to the bishop; there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never so eminent

eminent. If these considerations do not satisfy, your majesty may have more, or the same further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly desire your majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that argument, from the practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers. It is the argument of the papists for such traditions as no orthodox divine will admit. The law and testimony must be the rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the church for many years: Eusebius the prime historian confesseth so much: the learned Josephus Scaliger testifieth, that from the end of the Acts of the Apostles until a good time after, no certainty can be had from ecclesiastical authors about church matters. It is true, Diotrephes sought the preeminence in the apostles times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work, and no doubt in after-times, some puffed up with ambition, and others overtaken with weakness, endeavoured alteration of church-government; but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your majesty will deny the lawfulness of a ministry and the due administration of the sacraments in the reformed churches which have no diocesan bishops, sith it is not only manifest by scripture, but a great many of the strongest champions for episcopacy do confess, that presbyters may ordain other presbyters; and that baptism administred by a private person, wanting a public calling, or by a midwife and by a presbyter, although not ordained by a bishop, are not one and the same thing.

7. Concerning the other argument taken from your majesty's coronation-oath, I confess that both in the taking and keeping of an oath (so sacred a thing is it, and so high a point of religion) much tenderness is required: and far be it from us, who desire to observe our own solemn oath, to press your majesty with the violation of yours. Yet, Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleness and sincerity to lay before
might.

your majesty's eyes this one thing (which perhaps might require a larger discourse) that although no human authority can dispense with an oath, *quia religio juramenti pertinet ad forum divinum*; yet in some cases it cannot be denied but the obligation of an oath ceaseth: as when we swear homage and obedience to our lord and superior, who afterwards ceaseth to be our lord and superior: for then the formal cause of the oath is taken away, and therefore the obligation, *sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus, sublato relato tollitur correlatum*: or when any oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the obligation ceaseth: because all such oaths from the nature of the thing do include a condition. When the parliaments of both kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a law, your majesty's oath doth not bind you or your conscience to the observing of it: otherwise no laws could be altered by the legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing episcopal government in Scotland, and of removing the bishops out of the parliament of England. And I assure myself that your majesty did not intend at the taking of your oath, that although both houses of parliament should find an alteration necessary, altho' (which God Almighty avert) you should lose yourself and your posterity and crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a law. If your majesty still object, "that the matter of the oath is necessary and immutable"; that doth not belong to this, but to the former argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your piety to your royal father and teacher of happy memory, with which your majesty does conclude. Your majesty knows that king James never admitted episcopacy upon divine right: that his majesty did swear and subscribe to the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Scotland; that in the preface of the latter edition of Basilicon Doron, his majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better

ther

the simplicity of the gospel, than the pomp and ceremonies of the church of England, and that he conceived the prelates to favour of the popish hierarchy; and that (could his ghost now speak to your Majesty) he would not advise your majesty to run such hazards for those men who will choose rather to pull down your throne with their own ruin, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your majesty a wise and discerning spirit to choose that in time which is right.

June 3, 1646.

III. *His Majesty's second paper, for Mr Alex^r Henderson: A reply to his answer to my first paper.*

Mr Henderson,

June 6, 1646.

IF it had been the honour of the cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this argument against you, whose answer to my former paper is sufficient without further proofs, to justify my opinion of your abilities; but it being merely (as you know) for my particular satisfaction, I assure you that a disputation of well-chosen divines would be most effectual; and I believe, you cannot but grant, that I must best know how myself may be best satisfied; for certainly my taste cannot be guided by another man's palate: and indeed I will say that when it comes (as it must) to probations, I must have either persons or books to clear the allegations, or it will be impossible to give me satisfaction. The foreseeing of which made me at first (for the saving of time) desire that some of these divines which I gave you in a list might be sent for.

2. Concerning your second section, I were much to blame if I should not submit to that saying of St Ambrose which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found less ingenuous than you shew yourself to be in the former part of it: wherefore my reply is, that as I shall not be ashamed to change for the better, so I must see that it is better before I change: otherwise inconstancy in this were both sin and shame, and

and remember (what yourself hath learnedly inforced) that "no man's reason can be commanded by another man's will."

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on, with that ingenuity which the other did: for I do not understand how these examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of reformation which I commend hath not been the most perfect, or that any other is lawful, those having been all by the regal authority: and because Henry VIII's reformation was not perfect, will it prove that of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth to be imperfect? I believe a new mood and figure must be found out to form a syllogism whereby to prove that. But however you are mistaken; for no man who truly understands the English reformation will derive it from Henry the eighth, for he only gave the occasion; it was his son who began, and queen Elizabeth that perfected it. Nor did I ever aver that the beginning of any human action was perfect, no more than you can prove "that God hath ever given approbation" to multitudes to reform the negligence of princes," for you know there is much difference between permission and approbation. But all this time I find no reasons (according to your promise) for a reformation or change, (I mean since Queen Elizabeth's time.) As for your Romanorum Malleus his saying, it is well you come off it with "yet this I may say:" for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought nor would justify that bloody ungodly saying: and for your comparing our reformation here to the Laodicean lukewarmness, proved by complaints, grievings, &c. all that doth and but unhandsomely *petere principium*; nor can generals satisfy me; for you must first prove that those men had reason to complain, those churches to be grieved, and how we were truly the causers of this schism and separation. As for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of my two main arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince me; It is I must make

make good the affirmative, for I believe a negative cannot be proved. Instead of which, if you had made appear the practice of the presbyterian government in the primitive times, you had done much ; for I do aver that this government was never practised before Calvin's time ; the affirmative of which I leave you to prove ; my task being to shew the lawfulness and succession of episcopacy, and, as I believe, the necessity of it. For doing whereof I must have such books as I shall call for ; which possibly upon perusal may, one way or other, give me satisfaction ; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some learned man, whom I can trust to find out all such citations as I have use of ; wherefore blame me not if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the fallaciousness of my argument (to my knowledge) it was never my practice, nor do I confess to have begun now. For if the practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers be not a convincing argument, when the interpretation of scripture is doubtful, I know nothing : for if this be not, then of necessity the *interpretation of private spirits* must be admitted ; the which contradicts St Peter, 2 *Pet.* i. 20, is the mother of all sects, and will (if not prevented) bring these kingdoms into confusion. And to say that an argument is ill, because the papists use it, or that such a thing is good because it is the custom of some of the reformed churches ; cannot weigh with me, until you prove these to be infallible, or that to maintain no truth. And how Diotrephes' ambition (who directly opposed the apostle St John) can be an argument against episcopacy, I do not understand.

6. When I am made a judge over the reformed churches, then, and not before, will I censure their actions ; as you must prove, before I confess it, " that presbyters without a bishop may lawfully ordain other presbyters." And as for the administration of baptism, as I think none will say that a woman can lawfully or duly administer it, though when done it be valid ; so none ought to do it but a lawful presbyter,

byter, whom you cannot deny but to be absolutely necessary for the sacrament of the eucharist.

7. You make a learned succinct discourse of oaths in general, and their several obligations, to which I fully agree; intending in the particular now in question to be guided by your own rule, which is, "when any oath hath a special reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the obligation ceaseth." Now it must be known, to whom this oath hath reference, and to whose benefit. The answer is clear, only to the church of England, as by the record will be plainly made appear. And you much mistake in alledging that the two houses of parliament, especially as they are now constituted, can have this disobligatory power; for (besides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this church never did submit nor was subordinate to them, and that it was only the king and clergy who made the reformation, the parliament merely serving to help to give the civil sanction. All this being proved (of which I make no question) it must necessarily follow, that it is only the church of England, in whose favour I took this oath, that can release me from it: wherefore when the church of England, being lawfully assembled, shall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I shall esteem myself so.

8. To your last, concerning the king my father, of happy and famous memory both for his piety and learning, I must tell you, that I had the happiness to know him much better than you; wherefore I desire you not to be too confident in the knowledge of his opinions; for I dare say, should his ghost now speak, he would tell you, "That a bloody reformation was never lawful, as not warranted by God's word," and that *preces et lachrymæ sunt arma ecclesiæ*.

9. To conclude, having replied to all your paper, I cannot but observe to you, that you have given me no answer to my last quære. It may be you are (as Chaucer says) like the people of England, "What
" they

"they not like, they never understand:" but in earnest, that question is so pertinent to the purpose in hand, that it will much serve for my satisfaction; and besides, it may be useful for other things.

Newcastle, June 6, 1646.

C. R.

IV. Mr Alex^r Henderson's second paper for his majesty.

S I R,

THE smaller the encouragements be in relation to the success (which how small they are your majesty well knows) the more apparent, and, I hope, the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about at your majesty's command: yet while I consider that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man that walketh to direct his own steps; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your majesty's behalf unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed success.

1. I have been averse from a disputation of divines.

1. For saving of time; which the present exigence and extremity of affairs make more than ordinarily precious. While Archimedes at Syracuse was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand, Marcellus interrupted his demonstration. 2. Because the common result of disputes of this kind, answerable to the prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather victory than verity; while *tantum tentativi dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse party, than to be overcome of truth, although this be the most glorious victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me nor expected by me: I never judged so meanly of the cause, nor so highly of myself, as to venture it upon such weakness. Much more might be spoken to this purpose, but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your majesty with that which is contained in the second section, hoping that your majesty will no more insist upon education, prescription of time, &c. which are sufficient to pre-

vent admiration, but (which your majesty acknowledges) must give place to reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our faith in any point to be believed; although it be true that the most part of men make these and the like to be the ground and rule of their faith; an evidence that their faith is not a divine faith, but an human credulity.

3. Concerning reformation of religion in the third section; I had need have a preface to so thorny a theme as your majesty hath brought me upon. 1. For the reforming power; it is conceived, when a general defection, like a deluge, hath covered the whole face of the church, so that scarcely the tops of the mountains do appear, a general council is necessary; but because that can hardly be obtained, several kingdoms (which we see was done at the time of the reformation) are to reform themselves, and that by the authority of their prince and magistrates: if the prince or supreme magistrate be unwilling, then may the inferior magistrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of religion, lawfully reform within their own sphere: and if the light shine upon all or the major part, they may, after all other means essayed, make a public reformation. This before this time I never wrote or spoke; yet the maintainers of this doctrine conceive that they are able to make it good. But, sir, were I worthy to give advice to your majesty, or to the kings and supreme powers on earth, my humble opinion would be, that they should draw the minds, tongues and pens of the learned, to dispute about other matter than the power or prerogative of kings and princes; and in this kind your majesty hath suffered and lost more than will easily be restored to yourself or to your posterity for a long time. It is not denied but the prime reforming power is in the kings and princes; *quibus deficientibus*, it comes to the inferior magistrate; *quibus deficientibus*, it descendeth to the body of the people; supposing that there is a necessity of reformation, and that by no means it can be obtained of their superiors. It is true that such a reformation is more imperfect in re-
spect

spect of the instruments and manner of procedure; yet for the most part more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the examples of old of reformation, by regal authority; of which none was perfect, in the second way of perfection, except that of Josiah. Concerning the saying of Grosthead, whom the cardinals at Rome confessed to be a more godly man than any of themselves, it was his complaint and prediction of what was likely to ensue, not his desire or election, if reformation could have been obtained in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartial witnesses, Juel and Bilson, both famous English bishops, to prove that the tumults and troubles raised in Scotland at the time of reformation, were to be imputed to the papists opposing of the reformation both of doctrine and discipline as an heretical innovation; and not to be ascribed to the nobility or people, who under God, were the instruments of it, intending and seeking nothing but the purging out of error, and settling of the truth.

2. Concerning the reformation of the church of England, I conceive, whether it was begun or not in K. Henry the eight's time, it was not finished by Q. Elizabeth; the father stirred the humours of the diseased church; but neither the son nor the daughter (although we have great reason to bless God for both) did purge them out perfectly: this perfection is yet reserved for your majesty. Where it is said, "that all this time I bring no reasons for a further change;" the fourth section of my last paper hath many hints of reasons against episcopal government, with an offer of more, or clearing of those; which your majesty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have observed many defects in that reformation; as, that the government of the church of England (for about this is the question now) is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the apostles; which they at least cannot deny, who profess church government to be mutable and ambulatory; and such were the greater part of archbishops and bishops in England, contenting themselves with the

constitutions of the church, and the authority and munificence of princes, till of late that some few have pleaded it to be *jure divino*: that the English reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman leaven; which is one of the reasons that have given ground to the comparing of this church to the church of Laodicea, as being neither hot nor cold, neither popish nor reformed, but of a lukewarm temper betwixt the two; that it hath depraved the discipline of the church, by conforming of it to the civil policy: that it hath added many church offices, higher and lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God; which is as unlawful, as to take away offices warranted by the divine institution: and other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the church of England, *Multi ad perfectionem pervenirent, nisi jam se pervenisse crederent*.

4. In my answer to the first of your majesty's many arguments, I brought a breviat of some reasons to prove that "a bishop and presbyter are one and the same in scripture:" from which by necessary consequence I did infer the negative, therefore, no difference in scripture between a bishop and a presbyter; the one name signifying *industriam curiæ pastoralis*, the other *sapientiæ maturitatem*, saith Beda. And whereas your majesty avers, "that presbyterian government was never practised before Calvin's time;" your majesty knows the common objection of the papists against the reformed churches, Where was your church, your reformation, your doctrine, before Luther's time? One part of the common answer is, "That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in scripture." The same I affirm of presbyterian government. And for the proving of this, the assembly of divines at Westminster have made manifest, "that the primitive christian church at Jerusalem was governed by a presbytery:" while they shew, 1. That the church of Jerusalem consisted of more congregations than one, from the multitude of believers, from the many apostles and other preachers in that church, and from the diversity of languages

ges among the believers. 2. That all these congregations were under one presbyterial government, because they were for government one church, *Acts xi. 22. 26.* and because that church was governed by elders, *Acts xi. 30.* which were elders of that church, and did meet together for acts of government: and the apostles themselves, in that meeting, *Acts xv.* acted not as apostles, but as elders, stating the question, debating it in the ordinary way of disputation; and having by search of scripture found the will of God, they conclude, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us;* which, in the judgment of the learned, may be spoken by any assembly upon like evidence of scripture. The like presbyterian government had place in the churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c. in the times of the apostles; and after them, for many years, when one of the presbytery was made *episcopus præsides*, even then, *Communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur*, saith Jerome; and, *Episcopus magis consuetudine quam dispositionis divinæ veritate presbyteris esse majores, & in commune debere ecclesiam regere.*

5. Far be it from me to think such a thought, as that your majesty did intend any fallacy in your other main argument from antiquity. As we are to distinguish between *intentio operantis & conditio operis*; so may we in this case consider the difference between *intentio argumentantis & conditio argumenti*. And where your majesty argues, that, if your opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the interpretation of private spirits, which is contrary to the doctrine of the apostle Peter, and will prove to be of dangerous consequence; I humbly offer to be considered by your majesty, what some of chief note among the papists themselves have taught us, That the interpretation of scriptures, and the spirits whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold sense. 1. *Ratione personæ*, if the interpreter be of a private condition. 2. *Ratione modi & medi* when persons, although not private, use not the publick means which are necessary for finding out the truth, but

follow their own fancies. 3. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not proposed as authentical to bind others, but is intended for our own private satisfaction. The first is not to be despised; the second is to be exploded, and is condemned by the apostle Peter; the third ought not to be censured; but that interpretation which is authentical, and of supreme authority, which every man's conscience is bound to yield unto, is of an higher nature. And although the general council should resolve it, and the consent of the fathers should be had unto it, yet there must always be place left to the judgment of discretion, as Davenant, late bishop of Salisbury, beside divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his book *De judice controversiarum*; where also the power of kings in matter of religion is solidly and impartially determined. Two words only I add. One is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from antiquity, a bishop having sole power of ordination and jurisdiction will never be found in prime antiquity. The other is, that many of the fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that Antichrist which was conceived in the times of the apostles, and therefore are incompetent judges in the question of hierarchy. And upon the other part, the lights of the christian church at and since the beginning of the reformation, have discovered many secrets concerning the Antichrist and his hierarchy which were not known to former ages: and divers of the learned in the Roman church have not feared to pronounce, That whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many texts of scripture to have been found out in this last age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully poured forth his Spirit upon the children of this generation; and ungrateful towards those men, who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to God's church, have travailed therein. This might be instanced in many places of scripture. I wind together Diotrophes and the *mystery of iniquity*: the one as an old example of church-ambition, which was also too palpable in the apostles themselves; and the other as a cover of ambition

bition, afterwards discovered : which two brought forth the great mystery of the papacy at last.

6. Although your majesty be not made a judge of the reformed churches, yet you so far censure them and their actions, as without bishops, in your judgment, they cannot have a lawful ministry, nor a due administration of the sacraments. Against which dangerous and destructive opinion I did alledge what I supposed your majesty would not have denied. 1. That presbyters without a bishop may ordain other presbyters. 2. That baptism administered by such a presbyter, is another thing than baptism administered by a private person or by a midwife. Of the first your majesty calls for proof. I told before, that in scripture it is manifest, 1 Tim. iv. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*; so it is in the English translation; And the word presbytery, so often as it is used in the New Testament, always signifies the *persons*, and not the *office*. And although the offices of bishop and presbyter were distinct; yet doth not the presbyter derive his power of order from the bishop. The evangelists were inferior to the apostles; yet had they their power not from the apostles, but from Christ. The same I affirm of the seventy disciples, who had their power immediately from Christ, no less than the apostles had theirs. It may upon better reason be averred that the bishops have their power from the pope, than that presbyters have their power from the prelates. It is true, Jerome saith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod non facit presbyter*? But in the same place he proves from scripture, that *episcopus* and *presbyter* are one and the same; and therefore, when he appropriates ordination to the bishop, he speaketh of the degenerated custom of his time. Secondly, Concerning baptism, a private person may perform the external action and rites both of it and of the eucharist; yet is neither of the two a sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unless it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a person made publick,

publick, and clothed with authority by ordination. This error in the matter of baptism is begot by another error, of the absolute necessity of baptism.

7. To that which hath been said concerning your majesty's oath, I shall add nothing; not being willing to enter upon the question of the subordination of the church to the civil power, whether the king or parliament, or both, and to either of them in their own place. Such an headship as the kings of England have claimed, and such a supremacy as the two houses of parliament crave, with the appeals from the supreme ecclesiastical judicature to them as set over the church in the same line of subordination, I do utterly disclaim, upon such reasons as give myself satisfaction; altho' no man shall be more willing to submit to civil powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble, than myself. Only concerning the application of the generals of an oath to the particular case now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the clergy of the church of England is, or ought to be, principally intended in your oath. For although they were esteemed to be the representative church, yet even that is for the benefit of the church collective, *salus populi* being *suprema lex*, and to be principally intended. Your majesty knows it was so in the church of Scotland, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the consent of the clergy, what reformation can be expected in France or Spain, or Rome itself? It is not to be expected that the pope or prelates will consent to their own ruin.

8. I will not presume upon any secret knowledge of the opinions held by the king your majesty's father of famous memory, they being much better known to your majesty: I did only produce what was professed by him before the world. And altho' prayers and tears be the arms of the church; yet it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducive for kings and princes, to force the church to put on these arms. Nor could I ever hear a reason, why a necessary defensive war against unjust violence is unlawful, altho'

it be joined with offence and invasion which is intended for defence, but so that arms are laid down when the offensive war ceaseth : by which it doth appear that the war on the other side was, in the nature thereof, defensive.

9. Concerning the forcing of conscience, which I pretermitted in my other paper, I am forced now, but without forcing of my conscience, to speak of it. Our conscience may be said to be forced either by ourselves, or by others. By ourselves, 1. When we stop the ear of our conscience, and will not hearken, or give place to information, resolving obstinately, *Ne si persuaseris, persuadebis*; which is no less than a resisting of the Holy Ghost, and the hardening of our hearts. 2. Or when we stop the mouth and suppress the clamours of our conscience; resolving rather to suffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profession of that we are convinced to be truth. 3. Or when we sear our conscience as with an hot iron, that it becometh senseless, which is the punishment of the former : unto which is opposed the truly tender conscience, such as Josiah had, 2 Kings xxii. 19. Again, our conscience is said to be forced by others, 1. When they obtrude upon us what is in itself evil and unlawful; which if we admit against our own conscience, we sin two ways : one is, by doing that which is in itself evil and unlawful; the other is, by doing it against a dictate of conscience, which is a contempt of God, whose vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in itself good, or may lawfully be done, but through error of conscience we judge it to be evil and unlawful; in this case, if we do not that which is pressed upon us, we sin, because the thing is good and lawful; and if we do it, we sin, because we do against our conscience, which in this case bindeth, but obligeth not. And yet there is a way to escape out of this labyrinth, it being repugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a necessity of sinning upon any man : the only way is, to lay aside such a conscience, it being a part of the *old man* which we are commanded to put off;

otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our conscience ourselves, then suffer violence from others. The application, for answering the query, I leave to your majesty.

Newcastle, June 17, 1646.

V. *His Majesty's third paper, for Mr. Alex^r Henderson, in reply to his second paper.* June 22, 1646.

1. **I**T were arrogance, besides loss of time, in me to vie preambles with you ; for it is truth I seek, and neither praise nor victory : wherefore I shall only insist upon those things which are merely necessary to my own satisfaction ; in order to which I desired the assistance of some divines ; whereupon I will insist no further, save only to wish that you may not (as I have known many men do) lose time by being mistaken in the way to save it, wherein I have only sought to disburthen myself, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning my education and reason ; but then remember, that another man's will is at least as weak a ground to build my faith upon as my former education.

3. In this there are two points ; first, concerning the reforming power, then, anent the English reformation. For the first, I confess you now speak clearly, which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I shall mainly differ with you, until you shall shew me better reason. Yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a general council cannot be had, several kingdoms may reform themselves, which is learnedly and fully proved by the late archbishop of Canterbury in his disputation against Fisher ; but that the inferior magistrates or people (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny ; for which, by your favour, you have yet made no sufficient proof to my judgment. Indeed if you could have brought, or can bring authority of scripture for this
opinion

opinion, I would and will yet, with all reverence submit ; but as for your examples out of the Old Testament, in my mind they rather make for than against me, all those reformatations being made by kings : and it is a good probable (though I will not say convincing) argument, that if God would have approved of a popular reforming way, there were kings of Judah and Israel sufficiently negligent and ill to have made such examples by ; but on the contrary, the 16th chapter of Numbers shew clearly how God disapproves of such courses. But I forget this assertion is to be proved by you ; yet I may put you in the way : wherefore let me tell you that this pretended power in the people must (as all others) either be directly or else declaratorily by approbation given by God ; which how soon you can do, I submit ; otherwise you prove nothing. For the citing of private mens opinions (more than as they concur with the general consent of the church in their time) weighs little with me, it being too well known, that rebels never wanted writers to maintain their unjust actions : and though I much reverence bishop Juel's memory, I never thought him infallible. For Bilson, I remember well what opinion the king my father had of him for those opinions, and how he shewed him some favour in hope of his recantation, (as his good nature made him do many things of that kind ;) but whether he did or not, I cannot say. To conclude this point, until you shall prove this position by the word of God, (as I will regal authority) I shall think all popular reformation little better then rebellion ; for I hold that " no authority is lawful but that which is either directly given, or," at least, " approved by God." Secondly, Concerning the English reformation, the first reason you bring why Q. Elizabeth did not finish it, is, " because she took not away episcopacy," the hints of reason against which government you say I take no notice of ; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, a negative (as I conceived) could not be proved, and that it was for me to prove the affirmative ; which I

shall either do, or yield the argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with books, or such men of my opinion, who, like you, have a library in their brain. And so I must leave this particular, until I be furnished with means to put it to an issue; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will. Indeed your second, well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That the English church-government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the apostles: but I conceive your probation of this doubly defective. For first, albeit our archbishops and bishops should have professed church-government to be mutable and ambulatory, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove that most of them maintained this walking position, (for some particulars must not conclude the general) for which you must find much better arguments than their being content with the constitution of the church, and the authority and munificence of princes, or you will fall extremely short. As for the retaining of the Roman leaven, you must prove it as well as say it, else you say little. But that the conforming of the church-discipline to the civil policy should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I aver, that without it the church can neither flourish nor be happy. And for your last instance, you shall do well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more officers in the church than he named; and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the church of England hath added any; for an archbishop is only a distinction for order of government, not a new officer, and so of the rest; and of this kind I believe there are divers now in Scotland, which you will not condemn, as the moderators of assemblies, and others.

4. Where you find a bishop and presbyter in scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be always so) it is in the apostles time; now I think to prove the order of bishops succeeded that of the apostles, and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our
Saviour,

Saviour, (albeit in their time they caused divers to be called so, as Barnabas and others) so that I believe this argument makes little for you. As for your proof of the antiquity of presbyterian government, it is well that the assembly of divines at Westminster can do more then Eusebius could, and I shall believe when I see it : for your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for me, if there be no clearer arguments to prove it than those you mention : for because there were " divers congregations in Jerusalem ;" Ergo, what ? are there not divers parishes in one diocese ? (your two first I answer but as one argument) and because " the apostles met with those of the inferior orders for acts of government"; what then ? even so in these times do the deans and chapters, and many times those of the inferior clergy assist the bishops. But I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the apostles and other presbyters, which not being, doth (in my judgment) quite invalidate these arguments. And if you can say no more for the churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Thessalonica, &c. than you have for Jerusalem, it will gain no ground on me. As for St Jerome, it is well known that he was no great friend to bishops, as being none himself ; yet take him altogether, and you will find that he makes a clear distinction between a bishop and a presbyter, as yourself confesses : but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained deacons to be equal to presbyters.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did : but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my argument ; for when you and I differ upon the interpretation of scripture, and I appeal to the practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers, to be judge between us, methinks you should either find a fitter, or submit to what I offer ; neither of which (to my understanding) you have yet done ; nor have you
shewn

shewn how, waving those judges I appeal unto, the mischief of the interpretation by private spirits can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by antiquity that ordination and jurisdiction belong to bishops, (thereby clearly distinguishing them from other presbyters) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of my former foundations ; as for bishop Davenant he is none of those to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto. But for the exception you take to fathers, I take it to be a begging of the question ; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former ages, I shall call new invented fancies, until particularly you shall prove the contrary : and for your Roman authors, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain novelties, as well as the puritans. As for church-ambition, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be pope ; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be independent of kings, it being possible that papacy in a multitude may be as dangerous as in one.

6. As I am no judge over the reformed churches, so neither do I censure them ; for many things may be avowable upon necessity, which otherwise are unlawful : but know once for all, that I esteem nothing the better because it is done by such a particular church (though it were by the church of England, which I avow most to reverence ;) but I esteem that church most which comes nearest to the purity of the primitive doctrine and discipline, as I believe this doth. Now concerning ordination, I bade you prove that presbyters without a bishop might lawfully ordain ; which yet I conceive you have not done : for, 2 *Tim.* i. 6. it is evident that St Paul was at Timothy's ordination ; and albeit that all the seventy had their power immediately from Christ, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the twelve apostles and the rest of the disciples, which is set down by three of the evangelists, whereof St Mark calls it an ordination, *Mark* iii. 15. and Saint Luke says, —and of them he chose twelve, &c. *Luke* vi. 13. only St. Matthew doth but barely enumerate them

them by their name of distinction, *Mat. x. 2.* I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none are more particular. For the administration of baptism, giving, but not granting what you say, it makes more for me than you : but I will not engage upon new questions not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my oath you do well not to enter upon those questions you mention ; and you had done as well to have omitted your instance ; but out of discretion I desire you to collect your answer out of the last section ; and for your argument, though the intention of my oath be for the good of the church collective, therefore can I be dispensed withal by others than the representative body ? certainly no more than the people can dispense with me for any oaths I took in their favours, without the two houses of parliament. As for future reformatations, I will only tell you, that *incommodum non solvit argumentum.*

8. For the king my father's opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe needlessly) I could prove by living and written testimonies all and more than I have said of him, for his persuasion in these points which I now maintain ; and for your defensive war, as I do acknowledge it a great sin for any king to oppress the church, so I do hold it absolutely unlawful for subjects, upon any pretence whatsoever, to make war, (though defensive against their lawful sovereign ; against which no less proofs will make me yield but God's word : and let me tell you, that upon such points as these, instances as well as comparisons are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the query in my first paper to which this pretends to answer ; for my question was not concerning force of arguments (for I never doubted the lawfulness of it) but force of arms, to which I conceive, it says little or nothing, unless (after my example) you refer me to the former section : that which it doth, is merely the asking of the question, after a fine discourse of the several ways of persuading
rather

rather than forcing of conscience. I close up this paper, desiring you to take notice, that there is none of these sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, some to whole pages ; yet I chose to be thus brief, knowing you will understand more by a word than others by a long discourse ; trusting likewise to your ingenuity, that reason epitomized will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

June 22, 1646.

C. R.

VI. Mr Alex^r Henderson's *third paper for his majesty, concerning the authority of the fathers, and practice of the church.*

July 2, 1646.

HAVING in my former papers pressed the steps of your majesty's propositions, and finding by your majesty's last paper controversies to be multiplied (I believe) beyond your majesty's intentions in the beginning ; as concerning *the reforming power, the reformation of the church of England, the difference betwixt a bishop and a presbyter, the warrants of presbyterian government, the authority of interpreting scripture, the taking and keeping of public oaths, the forcing of conscience*, and many other inferior and subordinate questions, which are branches of those main controversies ; all which in a satisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more presuming spirits, who either see no knots of difficulties, or can find a way rather to cut them asunder than to unloose them ; yet will I not use any tergiversation, nor do I decline to offer my humble opinion with the reasons thereof in their own time, concerning each of them ; which in obedience to your majesty's command I have begun to do already. Only, sir, by your majesty's favourable permission, for the greater expedition, and that the present velitations may be brought to some issue : I am bold to intreat that the method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which should have been *inter præcognita*, I mean, the rule by which we are to proceed, and to determine the present controversy of church-policy ; without which

we

we will be led into a labyrinth, and want a thread to wind us out again. In your majesty's first paper, the "universal custom of the primitive church" is conceived to be the rule; in the second paper, section 5. the "practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers" is made a convincing argument, when the *interpretation of scripture* is doubtful; in your third paper, sect. 5. "the practice of the primitive church and the universal consent of fathers" is made judge: and I know that nothing is more ordinary in this question than to alledge, "antiquity, perpetual succession, universal consent of the fathers," and the "universal practice of the primitive church," according to the rule of Augustine, *Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec à Concilio institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.* There is in this argument at the first view so much appearance of reason, that it may much work upon a modest mind; yet being well examined and rightly weighed, it will be found to be of no great weight: for beside that the minor will never be made good in the behalf of a diocesan bishop having sole power of ordination and jurisdiction, there being a multitude of fathers who maintain "that bishop and presbyter are of one and the same order;" I shall humbly offer some few considerations about the major, because it hath been an inlet to many dangerous errors, and hath proved a mighty hindrance and obstruction to reformation of religion.

1. I desire it may be considered, that whiles some make two rules for defining controversies, the word of God and antiquity (which they will have to be received with equal veneration) or, as the papists call them, canonical authority and catholic tradition; and others make scripture to be the only rule, and antiquity the authentic interpreter: the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater error: because the first setteth up a parallel in the same degree with scripture: but this would create a superior, in a higher degree above scripture. For the interpretation of the fathers shall be

be the *Δις*, and accounted the very cause and reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of scripture to have such a sense: and thus men shall have dominion over our faith, against 2 Cor. i. 24. *Our faith shall stand in the wisdom of men, and not in the power of God*, 1 Cor. ii. 5. and *Scripture shall be of private interpretation; for the prophecy came not of old by the will of man*, 2 Pet. i. 20, 22. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit; homo jam Deo propitius esse debet*, saith Tertullian.

2. That scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by scripture, is manifest from scripture. The Levites gave the sense of the law by no other means but by scripture itself, *Neh. viii. 8*. Our Saviour, for example to us, gave the true sense of scripture against the depravations of satan, by comparing scripture with scripture, and not by alledging any testimonies out of the Rabbins, *Matth. iv*. And the apostles in their epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of prophetic writings: likeas the Apostle Peter will have us to compare the clearer light of the apostles with the more obscure light of the prophets, 2 Pet. i. 19. And when we betake ourselves to the fathers, we have need to take heed that, with the papists, we accuse not the scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The fathers themselves (as they are cited by protestant writers) hold this conclusion, that scripture is not to be interpreted but by scripture itself. To this purpose, amongst many other testimonies, they bring the saying of Tertullian, *Surge, veritas, ipsa scripturas tuas interpretare, quam consuetudo non novit: nam si nosset, non esset*: if it knew scripture, it would be ashamed of itself, and cease to be any more.

4. That some errors have been received and continued for a long time in the church. The error of free-will, beginning at Justin Martyr, continued till the time of reformation, although it was rejected by Augustine, as the divine right of episcopacy was opposed by others. The error about the vision of God,

“ That the souls of saints departed see not the face of
“ God

"God till the judgment of the great day," was held by universal consent. The same may be said of the error of the Millenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present question, the antients erred grossly about the *antichrist* and *mystery of iniquity*, which did begin to work in the days of the apostles. Many other instances might be brought to prove such universal practice of the church, as was not warranted by the apostles; as in the rites of baptism and prayer, and the forming up and drawing together of the articles of that creed that is called *symbolum apostolicum*, the observation of many feasts and fasts both anniversary and weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible or impossible as some would have it appear to be, for the primitive church to have made a sudden defection from the apostolical purity. The people of Israel, in the short time of Moses his absence on the mount, turned aside quickly, and fell into horrible idolatry, *Exod. xxxii.* Soon after the death of Joshua, and the elders that had seen the great works which the Lord had done for Israel, there arose another generation after them, which did evil in the sight of the Lord, *Judg. ii.* Soon after the building of the temple, and settling of religion by David and Solomon, the worship of God was defiled with idolatry: when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him. *2 Chron. xii. 1.* And the apostle says to the Galatians, *Gal. i. 6. I marvel that you are so soon removed unto another gospel.* Why then shall we think it strange, that in the matter of discipline there should be a sudden defection, especially it being begun in the time of the apostles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no strong reasons for it, that the church which was nearest the times of the apostles was the most pure and perfect church.

6. That it is impossible to come to the knowledge of the universal consent and practice of the primitive church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are perished (it may be that

that both of these have dissented from the rest) many of the writings which we have under their names are supposititious and counterfeit, especially about episcopacy, which was the foundation of papal primacy. The rule of Augustine afore-mentioned doth too much favour traditions, and is not to be admitted without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like considerations may be added; but these may be sufficient to prove, that the unanimous consent of the fathers and the universal practice of the primitive church is no sure ground of authentic interpretation of scripture. I remember of a grave divine in Scotland, much honoured by K. James of happy memory, who did often profess that he did learn more of one page of John Calvin than of a whole treatise of Augustine. Nor can there be any good reason (many there be against it) why the ancients should be so far preferred to the modern doctors of the reformed churches, and the one in a manner deified, and the other vilified. It is but a poor reason that some give, *fama miratrix senioris avi*, and is abundantly answered by the apologist for divine providence. If your majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed, or trouble your majesty any more.

VII. *His Majesty's fourth paper, for Mr Alexander Henderson. July 3, 1646.*

I Shall very willingly follow the method you have begun in your third paper; but I do not conceive that my last paper multiplies more controversies than my first gave occasion for; having been so far from augmenting the heads of our disputation, that I have omitted answering many things in both your papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needless questions; desiring to have only so many debated as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not "I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of church-government in England." And indeed I like very well to begin with the settling of the rule, by which we are to proceed, and determine the present contro-

versy

verfy: to which purpose (as I conceive) my third paper shews you an excellent way, for there I offer you a judge between us, or desire you to find out a better, which, to my judgment, you have not yet done (tho' you have sought to invalidate mine:) for, if you understand to have offered the scripture, though no man shall pay more reverence, or submit more humbly to it than myself: yet we must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the interpretation of the self-same text, or it can never determine our questions. As for example, I say you misapply that of 2 Cor. i. 14. to me (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make other men to have *dominion over my faith*, when I make them only serve to approve my reason. Nor do I conceive how 1 Cor. ii. 5. can be applied to this purpose: for there saint Paul only shews the difference between divine and human eloquence, making no mention of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole chapter, as indeed saint Peter does, 2 Pet. i. 20. which I conceive makes for me: for, since that no prophesy of scripture is of any private interpretation, first, I infer, that scripture is to be interpreted, for else the apostle would have omitted the word *private*; secondly, that at least the consent of many learned divines is necessary, and so, *à fortiori*, that of the catholic church ought to be an authentic judge, when men differ. And is it a good argument, because (*Matth. iv. 4, 7, 10.*) scripture is best interpreted by itself, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawful? certainful you cannot think it. Thus having shewed you that we differ about the meaning of the scripture, and are like to do so; certainly there ought to be for this, as well as other things, a rule or a judge between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our probations and arguments relevant; therefore evading for this time to answer your six considerations (not, I assure you, for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new questions) I desire you only to shew me a better than what I have offered unto you.

Newcastle, July 3. 1646.

C. B.
VIII.

VIII. *His Majesty's fifth paper, for Mr Alex^r Henderson: A particular answer to Mr Alex^r Henderson's third paper. July 16, 1646.*

UNTIL you shall find out a fitter way to decide our difference in opinion, concerning interpretation of scripture, than the consent of the fathers and the universal practice of the primitive church, I cannot but pass my judgment anent those six considerations which you offered to invalidate those authorities that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention two rules for defining of controversies, and seek a most odd way to confute them, as I think; for you alledge, that there is more attributed to them than I believe you can prove, by the consent of most learned men (there being no question, but there are always some flattering fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolic expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides, do you think, that albeit some ignorant fellows should attribute more power to presbyters than is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished? So I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the interpretation of fathers is a most excellent strengthening to my opinion, though others should attribute the cause and reason of their faith unto it.

2. As there is no question but that scripture is far the best interpreter of itself, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next: for I hope you will not be the first to condemn yourself, me, and innumerable others who yet unblameably have not tied themselves to this rule.

4. If this you only intend to prove, that errors were always breeding in the church, I shall not deny it; yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose. But if your meaning be, to accuse the universal practice of the church with error, I must say, it is a very bold undertaking, and (if you cannot justify

tify yourself by clear places in scripture) much to be blamed : wherein you must not alledge that to be universally received which was not ; as I dare say that the controversy about free-will was never yet decided by oecumenical or general council : nor must you presume to call that an error, which really the catholic church maintained (as in rites of baptism, forms of prayer, observation of feasts, fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the word of God ; and it is not enough to say that such a thing was not warranted by the apostles, but you must prove by their doctrine that such a thing was unlawful, or else the practice of the church is warrant enough for me to follow and obey that custom, whatsoever it be, and think it good : and I shall believe that the apostles creed was made by them (such reverence I bear to the church's traditions) until other authors be certainly found out.

5. I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was no good argument ; and indeed to me it is incredible that any custom of the catholic church was erroneous, which was not contradicted by orthodox learned men in the times of their first practice, as is easily perceived that all those defections were (some of them may be justly called rebellions) which you mention.

6. I deny it is impossible (though I confess it difficult) to come to the knowledge of the universal consent and practice of the primitive church ; therefore I confess a man ought to be careful how to believe things of this nature ; wherefore I conceive this to be only an argument for caution.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any authority equal to the scriptures ; yet I do think the unanimous consent of the fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive church, to be the best and most authentical interpreters of God's word, and consequently the fittest judges between me and you, when we differ, until you shall find me better. For example, I think you for the present the best preacher in Newcastle ; yet I believe you may err, and possibly

sibly, a better preacher may come: but till then I must retain my opinion.

Newcastle, July 16, 1646.

C. R.

His majesty's query concerning Easter, propounded to the parliament's commissioners at Holdenby. April 23, 1647.

I Desire to be resolved of this question: "Why the new reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?" The reason for this query is:

I conceive the celebration of this feast was instituted by the same authority which changed the Jewish Sabbath into the Lord's day, or Sunday; for it will not be found in scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday: wherefore it must be the church's authority that changed the one, and instituted the other. Therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When any body can shew me that herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it; till when, you know my mind.

C. R.

His majesty's first paper concerning Episcopacy.

At the treaty at Newport, October 2, 1648.

CHARLES R.

I Conceive that episcopal government is most consonant to the word of God, and of an apostolical institution, as it appears by the ^(a) scripture to have been practised by the apostles themselves, and by them committed and derived to particular persons as their substitutes or successors therein (as for ordaining presbyters and deacons, giving rules concerning christian discipline, and exercising censures over presbyters, and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by bishops in all the churches of Christ: and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said government. Notwithstanding this

(a) Acts xiv. 23. Acts vi. 6. 1 Cor. xvi. 1. 1 Cor. xiv. 1 Cor. v. 5. 3. John 9. 10. 1 Tim. v. 22. Tit. i. 5. Revel. ii. 3. 1 Tim. v. 19. Tit. iii. 10.

my persuation, I shall be glad to informed, if our Saviour and the apostles did so leave the church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the church-government at their pleasure : which if you can make appear to me, then I will confess that one of my great scruples is clean taken away : and then there only remains, That being by my coronation-oath obliged to maintain episcopal government as I found it settled to my hands ; whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof, until the same shall be evidenced to me to be contrary to the word of God.

Newport, 2 October, 1648.

PRAYERS, used by His MAJESTY in the time of his Troubles and Restraint.

I. *A prayer used by his majesty, at his entrance in state into the cathedral church of Exeter; after the defeat of the Earl of Essex in Cornwall.*

O Most glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I here humbly adore thy most sacred majesty ; and I bless and magnify thy name, for that thou hast been pleased so often and so strangely to deliver me from the strivings of my people. Father, forgive them who have thus risen up against me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto thee and to me ; that I being firmly established in the throne thou hast placed me in, I may defend thy church committed to my care, and keep all this thine and my people in truth and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

II. *A prayer drawn by his majesty's special direction and dictates, for a blessing on the treaty at Uxbridge.*

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural war, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from heaven upon this present treaty, begun for the establishment of an hap-

by peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. Or, if the guilt of our great sins cause this treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this, gracious God, for his sake who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

III. *A prayer drawn by his majesty's special directions for a blessing on the treaty at Newport in the isle of Wight.*

O Most merciful Father, Lord God of peace and truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnatural war, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from heaven upon this treaty brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true christian desire of saving those mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his. O Lord, let not the guilt of our sins cause this treaty to break off; but let the truth of thy spirit so clearly shine in our minds, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good: and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see, at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this, gracious God, for his sake who is our peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

IV. *A prayer for pardon of sin.*

A Almighty and most merciful Father, look down upon me thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate myself at the footstool of thy throne of grace; but look upon me, O Father, through the mediation and in the merits of Jesus Christ, in whom thou art only well pleased; for of myself I am not worthy to stand

stand before thee, or to speak with my unclean lips to thee, most holy and eternal God. For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy commandments by my sinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which thou hast forbidden under pain of thy heavy displeasure. As for my sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with me according to my deserts. I confess, O Lord, that it is thy mercy, which endureth for ever, and thy compassion, which never fails, which is the cause that I have not been long ago consumed; but with thee there is mercy and plenteous redemption. In the multitude therefore of thy mercies, and by the merits of Jesus Christ, I intreat thy divine majesty that thou wouldst not enter into judgment with thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done amiss; but be thou merciful unto me, and wash away all my sins with that precious blood that my Saviour shed for me. And I beseech thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all my sins, but also to purge my heart by thy Holy Spirit from the dross of my natural corruption. And as thou dost add days to my life, so, good Lord, I beseech thee to add repentance to my days; that when I have past this mortal life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting kingdom, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

V. *A prayer and confession in and for the times of affliction.*

Almighty and most merciful Father, as it is only thy goodness that admits of our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confess our sins freely unto thee; and of all men living, I have most need, most reason so to do, no man living having been so much obliged by thee; that degree of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding like-

wife to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worship to be set up in Scotland, and injured the bishops in England? O no! But with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right-informed conscience. Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies; for I know my repentance weak, and my prayers faulty. Grant therefore, merciful Father, so to strengthen my repentance and amend my prayers, that thou mayst clear the way for thine own mercies; to which O! let thy justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give me patience to endure, constancy against temptations, and a discerning spirit to choose what is best for thy church and people which thou hast committed to my charge. Grant this, O most merciful father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour. Amen.

VI. *A prayer in time of captivity.*

O Powerful and eternal God, to whom nothing is so great that it may resist, or so small that it is contemned; look upon my misery with thine eye of mercy, and let thy infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient. Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my faults by thy hand be corrected, and make not my unjust enemies the ministers of thy justice. But yet, my God, if in thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my inexcusable transgressions; if this ungrateful bondage be fittest for my over high desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken; O Lord, I yield unto thy will, and chearfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer: only thus much let me crave of thee, (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodness, which is thyself, thou wilt suffer some

some beam of thy majesty so to shine in my mind, that I, who acknowledge it my noblest title to be thy creature, may still in my greatest afflictions depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my virtue : O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction. And if it be thy will, that they more and more vex me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind and steadfast resolution ever to serve thee without fear or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee ; so that at the last I may come to thy eternal kingdom, through the merits of thy Son, our alone Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

VII. *A prayer in time of imminent danger.*

O Most merciful Father, tho' my sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of thy anger, than so great a deliverance as to free me from my present great danger ; yet, O Lord, since thy mercies are over all thy works, and thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish my transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour : wherefore I humbly desire thy divine majesty, that thou wilt not only pardon all my sins, but also free me out of the hands and protect me from the malice of my cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against my heinous offences will not otherwise be satisfied, than by suffering me to fall under my present afflictions, thy will be done : yet with humble importunity I do, and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that my cause, as I am thy vicegerent, may not suffer through my weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my mind, that with clearness I may shew forth thy truth, and manfully endure this bloody trial ; that so my sufferings here may not only glorify thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for me, even Jesus Christ the righteous. Amen.

His MAJESTY's Messages for Peace.

I. *From Canterbury, Jan. 20, 1641-2. for the composing of all differences.*

HIS majesty, perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconveniencies and mischief to this whole government, in which as his majesty is most chiefly interested, so he holds himself by many reasons most obliged to do what in him lies for the preventing thereof; though he might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of subjects) that propositions for the remedies of these evils ought rather to come to him than from him; yet his fatherly care of all his people being such, that he will rather lay by any particular respect of his own dignity, than that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatening evils, which cannot admit the delays of the ordinary proceedings in parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing proposition to both houses of parliament: That they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of his majesty's just and regal authority, and for the settling of his revenue, as for the present and future establishment of their privileges, the free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the security of the true religion now professed in the church of England, and the settling of ceremonies in such a manner as may take away all just offence. Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so his Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear judgment of them, it shall then appear by what his Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things which the too great fears and jealousies of some persons seem

seem to apprehend; and how ready he will be to equal and exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes, in their acts of grace and favour to their people. So that if all the present distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruin of this kingdom) do not, by the blessing of Almighty God, end in an happy and blessed accommodation; his majesty will then be ready to call heaven and earth, God and man to witness, that it hath not failed on his part.

II. From Huntingdon, March 15. upon his removal to York, in pursuance of the former.

HIS majesty being now on his remove to his city of York, where he intends to make his residence for some time, thinks fit to send this message to both houses of parliament.

That he doth very earnestly desire that they will use all possible industry in expediting the business of Ireland, in which they shall find so chearful a concurrence by his majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that service by his absence, he having all that passion for the reducing of that kingdom which he hath expressed in his former messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it than he hath endeavoured to do by those messages (having likewise done all such acts as he hath been moved unto by his parliament :) therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor protestant subjects shall grow upon them (though his majesty shall be deeply concerned in and sensible of their sufferings) he shall wash his hands before all the world from the least imputation of slackness in that most necessary and pious work.

And that his majesty may leave no way unattempted which may beget a good understanding between him and his parliament, he thinks it necessary to declare, that as he hath been so tender of the privileges of parliament, that he hath been ready and forward to retract any act of his own which he hath been informed hath trenched upon their privileges;

so he expects an equal tenderness in them of his majesty's known and unquestionable privileges (which are the privileges of the kingdom) amongst which he is assured it is a fundamental one, that his subjects cannot be obliged to obey any act, order, or injunction to which his majesty hath not given his consent. And therefore he thinks it necessary to publish, that he expects, and hereby requires, obedience from all his loving subjects to the laws established, and that they presume not upon any pretence of order or ordinance (to which his majesty is no party) concerning the militia, or any other thing, to do or execute what is not warranted by those laws; his majesty being resolved to keep the laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his subjects.

And his majesty once more recommends to his parliament the substance of his message of the twentieth of January last, that they compose and digest with all speed such acts as they shall think fit for the present and future establishment of their privileges, the free and quiet enjoying their estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the security of the true religion now professed in the church of England, the maintaining his majesty's regal and just authority, and settling his revenue; his majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just ways which may beget a happy understanding between him and his parliament, in which he conceives his greatest power and riches do consist.

III. *From Nottingham, August 25, 1642, when he set up his standard. By the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, Sir John Culpeper knight, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir W. Wedale, knight.*

WE have with unspeakable grief of heart long beheld the distractions of this our kingdom; our very soul is full of anguish until we may find some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole nation by a civil war: and tho' all our endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt us and our two houses of parliament

parliament (though pursued by us with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that success we hoped for ; yet such is our constant and earnest care to preserve the publick peace, that we shall not be discouraged from using any expedient which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to all our good subjects. To this end, observing, that many mistakes have arisen by the messages, petitions, and answers betwixt us and our two houses of parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood and more freely transacted ; We have thought fit to propound to you, that some fit persons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by us, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion which all good men desire. The peace of the kingdom : wherein, as we promise in the word of a king all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto us, if you shall choose the place where we are for the treaty, which we wholly leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those we shall employ, if you shall name another place ; so we assure you and all our good subjects, that (to the best of our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on our part which may advance the true protestant religion, oppose popery and superstition, secure the law of the land (upon which is built as well our just prerogative as the property and liberty of the subject) confirm all just power and privileges of parliament, and render us and our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt us and our two houses of parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all our people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this work.

If this proposition shall be rejected by you, we have done our duty so amply, that God will absolve us from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of our

power, we assure you nothing but our christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of blood hath begot this motion; our provision of men, arms, and money being such as may secure us from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of our people.

*IV. From * * Sept. 5, 1642, in pursuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means we have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the kingdom, nor how these means have been interpreted; because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, we are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make our offer of a treaty less readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both our houses of parliament traitors, or set up our standard against them, and much less to put them and this kingdom out of our protection; we utterly profess against it before God and the world. And further, to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the treaty so much desired by us, we hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your declarations against all persons as traitors or otherwise, for assisting us, we shall with all cheerfulness upon the same day recal our proclamations and declarations, and take down our standard; in which treaty we shall be ready to grant any thing that shall be really for the good of our subjects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, in as high a degree as by these our offers we have declared ourself to do: and assuring you that our chief desire in this world is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt us and our two houses of parliament,

*V. From ***** Sept. 11, 1642, in reply to the answer of both houses to the former.*

WHO have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers, let all the world

world judge, as well by former passages as our two last messages, which have been so fruitless, that (tho' we have descended to desire and press it) not so much as a treaty can be obtained, unless we would denude ourself of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us, and admit those persons accounted as traitors to us, who according to their duty, their oaths of allegiance, and the law, have appeared in defence of us their king and liege lord, (whom we are bound in conscience and honour to preserve) though we disclaimed all our proclamations and declarations, and the erecting of our standard as against our parliament. All we have now left in our power is, to express the deep sense we have of the publick misery of this kingdom, in which is involved that of our distressed protestants of Ireland; and to apply ourself to our necessary defence, wherein we wholly rely upon the providence of God, the justice of our cause, and the affection of our good people, so far we are from putting them out of our protection. When you shall desire a treaty of us, we shall piously remember whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and chearfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced us to leave our city of London, but that with honour and safety we could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our person and the law, against levies in opposition to both: so we shall suddenly and most willingly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgments which hang over this nation; and so deal with us and our posterity, as we desire the preservation and advancement of the true protestant religion, and the law and liberty of the subject, the just rights of parliament, and the peace of the kingdom.

VI. *From Brainford, Nov. 12, 1642. after the defeat of the parliament forces at Edgehill and at Brainford.*

WHEREAS the last night, being the eleventh of November, after the departure of the committee

mittee of both our houses with our gracious answer to their petition, we received certain information (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the houses committee or otherwise) that the L. of Essex had drawn his forces out of London towards us, which hath necessitated our sudden resolution to march with our forces to Brainford; we have thought hereby fit to signify to both our houses of parliament, that we are no less desirous of the peace of the kingdom than we express in our aforesaid answer; the propositions for which we shall willingly receive where-ever we are, and desire (if it may be) to receive them at Brainford this night, or early to-morrow morning; that all possible speed may be made in so good a work, and all inconveniencies otherwise likely to intervene may be avoided.

VII. From Oxford, April 12, 1643, at the close of the treaty. Concerning the disbanding of all forces, and his return to the houses.

TO shew to the whole world how earnestly his majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall make him desire the continuance of his army to any other end, or for any longer time than that, and until things may be so settled as that the law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his majesty, both houses, and his good subjects:

1. As soon as his majesty is satisfied in his first proposition concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing but that the just, known, legal rights of his majesty (devolved to him from his progenitors) and of the persons trusted by him, which have been violently taken from both, be restored unto him and unto them, unless any just and legal exceptions against any of the persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to his majesty) can be made appear to him.

2. As soon as all the members of both houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in parliament as they had upon the first of January 1641, the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-

birth-rights and the free election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to his majesty in these distractions; his majesty not intending that this should extend either to the bishops, whose votes have been taken away by bill, or to such in whose places upon new writs new elections have been made:

3. As soon as his majesty and both houses may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges and the high dishonour of parliaments have formerly assembled about both houses, and awed the members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the lords house, and two several desires of that house to the house of commons, to join in a declaration against them, the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued; which security his majesty conceives can be only settled by adjourning the parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from London, the choice of which his majesty leaves to both houses:

His majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both his houses of parliament at the time and place at and to which the parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His majesty being most confident that the law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against his majesty and the established laws, which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions, and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known rights of his majesty, and the property and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done in or by colour of any illegal declaration, ordinance, or order of one or both houses, or any committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise arms without his majesty's consent, will be in such a manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no
seed

feed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention his majesty is resolved, by his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to him by bill for the real good of his subjects, and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of recusants, for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion, for the prevention of the practices of papists against the state, and the due execution of the laws, and true levying of the penalties against them; to make known to all the world how causeless those fears and jealousies have been which have been raised against him, and by that so-distracted this miserable kingdom. And if this offer of his majesty be not consented to, (in which he asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on his side, and in which he defers many things highly concerning both himself and people, till a full and peaceable convention of parliament, which in justice he might now require) his majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the world, not only who is most desirous of peace, and whose fault it is that both armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this peace was ever interrupted, or these armies raised; and the beginning or continuance of the war, and the destruction and desolation of this poor kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interested, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to his majesty.

VIII. From Oxford, May 19, 1643, in pursuance of the former.

Since his majesty's message of the twelfth of April, (in which he conceived he had made such an overture for the immediate disbanding of all armies, and composition of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in parliament, that a perfect and settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full month) procured no answer from

from both houses, his majesty might well believe himself absolved before God and man from the least possible charge of not having used his utmost endeavour for peace : yet when he considers that the scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own kingdom ; that all the blood which is spilt is of his own subjects ; and that what victory soever it shall please God to give him must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against him ; when he considers that these desperate civil dissensions may encourage and invite a foreign enemy to make a prey of the whole nation ; that Ireland is in present danger to be totally lost ; that the heavy judgments of God, plague, pestilence, and famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural contention : and that in a short time there will be so general a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted throughout the kingdom, that even peace itself will not restore his people to their old temper and security ; his majesty cannot but again call for an answer to that his message, which gives so fair a rise to end these unnatural distractions. And his majesty doth this with the more earnestness, because he doubts not the condition of his armies in several parts, his strength of horse, foot, and artillery, his plenty of ammunition (which some men lately might conceive he wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tenderness and love to his people, and those christian impressions which always have, and he hopes always shall dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them, as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the world, that they will no longer suffer their fellow-subjects to wester in each others blood ; that they will remember by whose authority, and to what end they met in that council, and send such an answer to his majesty, as may open a door to let in a firm peace and security to the whole kingdom. If his majesty shall again be disappointed of his intentions herein, the blood, rapine, and distraction which must

must follow in England and Ireland, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of peace and accommodation.

IX. *From Oxford, March 3, 1643-4. For a treaty. To the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster.*

C. R.

OUt of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies which, by the blessing of almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruin, by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, we do propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint and authorize, to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a happy peace: and particularly, how all the members of both houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed protestant religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences, to the settling and maintaining of our just rights and privileges, of the rights and privileges of parliament, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting peace, both in church and state, and a perfect understanding betwixt us and our people; wherein no endeavour or concurrence of ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the ways of peace.

Given at our court at Oxford, the third day of March, 1643.

X. *From*

X. *From Evesholme, July 4. 1644, after the defeat of Waller at Cropredy Bridge. To the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster.*

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this our kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of our poor subjects, do most earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which, by the blessing of God, may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the nation to peace: from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given us on the contrary part shall make us cease, so no success on ours shall ever divert us. For the effecting whereof, we are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of us and our people, whether by way of confirmation of what we have already granted, or of such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all our most real professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed protestant religion established in this kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just privileges of parliament, and the liberty and property of the subject, according to the laws of the land; as also by granting a general pardon, without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, we do desire and propound to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, that they appoint such and so many persons as they shall think fit, sufficiently authorized by them, to attend us at our army, upon safe conduct to come and return, (which we do hereby grant) and conclude with us how the premises and all other things in question betwixt us and them may be fully settled: whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt us and our people being removed, there may be a present cessation of arms, and, as soon as may be, a total disbanding of all armies, the subject have his due, and we be restored to our rights. Wherein, if this our offer shall be
accepted,

accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on our part which may make our people secure and happy.

Given at our court at Evesholme, the fourth of July, 1644.

XI. *From Tavestock, Sept. 8, 1644, after the defeat of the earl of Essex at Cornwall. To the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster.*

CHARLES R.

IT having pleased God in so eminent a manner lately to bless our armies in these parts with success, we do not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes we have that it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as we do, the miseries brought and continued upon our kingdom by this unnatural war, and that it may open your ears and dispose your minds to embrace those offers of peace and reconciliation which have been so often and so earnestly made unto you by us, and from the constant and fervent endeavours of which we are resolved never to desist. In pursuance whereof, we do upon this occasion conjure you to take into consideration our (too long neglected) message of the fourth of July from Evesholme, which we again renew unto you; and that you will speedily send us such an answer thereunto, as may shew unto our poor subjects some light of a deliverance from their present calamities by a happy accommodation; toward which we do here engage the word of a king, to make good all those things which we have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this treaty. And so God direct you in the ways of peace.

Given at our court at Tavestock, the eighth of September, 1644.

XII. *From Oxford, Dec. 13, 1644, for a treaty by commissioners. By the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton.*

His majesty hath seriously considered your propositions, and finds it very difficult, in respect they import so great an alteration in government, both

both in church and state, to return a particular and positive answer before a full debate, wherein those propositions, and all necessary explanations, and reasons for assenting, dissenting, or qualifying, and all inconveniences and mischiefs which may ensue, and cannot otherwise be so well foreseen, may be discussed and weighed. His majesty therefore proposeth and desireth, as the best expedient for peace, that you will appoint such a number of persons as you shall think fit, to treat with the like number of persons, to be appointed by his majesty, upon the said propositions, and such other things as shall be proposed by his majesty, for the preservation and defence of the protestant religion, (with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, as his majesty hath often offered) the rights of the crown, the liberty and property of the subject, and the privileges of parliament: and upon the whole matter to conclude a happy and blessed peace.

XIII. From Oxford, Dec. 5, 1645, for a safe conduct for certain persons of honour to be sent with propositions of peace. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore.

CHARLES R.

His majesty being still deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnatural war, cannot think himself discharged of the duty he owes to God; or the affection and regard he hath to the preservation of his people, without the constant application of his earnest endeavours to find some expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be; doth therefore desire, that a safe conduct may be forthwith sent for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, John Ashburnham and Jeffery Palmer, esquires, and their attendants, with coaches, horses, and other accommodations for their journey to Westminster, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit; whom his majesty intends to send to the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament

of Scotland, furnished with such propositions as his majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at our court at Oxford, 5 December 1645.

XIV. *From Oxford, Dec. 15, 1645, in pursuance of the former. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore.*

CHARLES R.

His majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after so many expressions on your part of a deep and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicted kingdom, and of the dangers incident to his person during the continuance of this unnatural war, your many great and so often repeated protestations, that the raising of these arms hath been only for the necessary defence of God's true religion, his majesty's honour, safety, and prosperity, the peace, comfort and security of his people, you should delay a safe conduct to the persons mentioned in his majesty's message of the fifth of this instant December; which are to be sent unto you with propositions for a well-grounded peace: a thing so far from having been denied at any time by his majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that he believes it has been seldom (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much less from subjects to their king. But his majesty is resolved that no discouragements whatsoever shall make him fail on his part in doing his uttermost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which, if not in time prevented, must prove the ruin of this unhappy nation: and therefore doth once again desire, that a safe conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in his former message; and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to almighty God, in that day when he shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may yet be spilt in this unnatural war; as you tender the preservation and establishment of the true religion, by all the bonds of duty and allegiance to your king, or compassion to your bleeding
and

and unhappy country, and of charity to yourselves, that you dispose your hearts to a true sense, and employ all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his majesty, to set a speedy end to these wasting divisions: and then he shall not doubt but that God will yet again give the blessing of peace to this distracted kingdom.

Given at our court at Oxford, the 15th of December 1645.

XV. *From Oxford, Dec. 26, 1645, for a personal treaty. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

Notwithstanding the strange and unexpected delays (which can be preceded by no former times) to his majesty's two former messages, his majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, than to contribute any remedy to the evils which (for the present) do afflict this distracted kingdom: therefore, without further preamble, his majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which he intended to do by the persons mentioned in his former messages, though he well knows the great disadvantage which overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by well-instructed messengers.

His majesty conceiving that the former treaties have hitherto proved ineffectual, chiefly for want of power in those persons that treated, as likewise because those from whom their power was derived (not possibly having the particular informations of every several debate) could not give so clear a judgment as was requisite in so important a business; If therefore his majesty may have the engagement of the two houses of parliament at Westminster, the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, the mayor, aldermen, common-council, and militia of London, of the chief commanders in Sir Thomas Fairfax

Fairfax his army, as also those in the Scots army, for his majesty's free and safe coming to and abode in London or Westminster, (with such of his servants now attending him, and their followers, not exceeding in all the number of three hundred) for the space of forty days, and after the said time for his free and safe repair to any of his garrisons of Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, (which his majesty shall nominate at any time before his going from London or Westminster) his majesty propounds to have a personal treaty with the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which may conduce to the restoring of peace and happiness to these miserable distracted kingdoms; and to begin with the three heads which were treated on at Uxbridge. And for the better clearing of his majesty's earnest and sincere intentions of putting an end to these unnatural distractions, (knowing that point of security may prove the greatest obstacle to this most blessed work) his majesty therefore declares, that he is willing to commit the great trust of the militia of this kingdom for such time and with such powers as are expressed in the paper delivered by his majesty's commissioners at Uxbridge the sixth of February last, to to these persons following, viz. the lord privy seal, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the marquis of Dorchester, the earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Essex, earl of Southampton, earl of Pembroke, earl of Salisbury, earl of Manchester, earl of Warwick, earl of Denbigh, earl of Chichester, lord Say, lord Seymour, lord Lucas, lord Lexington, Mr Denzil Hollis, Mr Pierrepont, Mr Henry Bellasis, Mr Richard Spencer, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Mr John Ashburnham, Sir Gervas Clifton, Sir Henry Vane junr, Mr Robert Wallop, Mr Thomas Chicheley, Mr Oliver Cromwell, Mr Philip Skippon; supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: but if this doth not satisfy, then his majesty

majesty offers to name the one half, and leaves the other to the election of the two houses of parliament at Westminster, with the powers and limitations before-mentioned.

Thus his majesty calls God and the world to witness of his sincere intentions and real endeavours for the composing and settling of these miserable distractions, which he doubts not but by the blessing of God will soon be put to a happy conclusion, if this his majesty's offer be accepted: otherwise he leaves all the world to judge, who are the continuers of this unnatural war. And therefore he once more conjures you by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your king, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your country, that you join your most serious and hearty endeavours with his majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries. Given at our court at Oxford, the 26th of December, 1645.

XVI. *From Oxford, December 29, 1645, in pursuance of the former; for a personal treaty at Westminster. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

Although the message sent by sir Peter Killegrew may justly require an expostulatory answer, yet his majesty lays that aside, as not so proper for his present endeavours; leaving all the world to judge, whether his proposition for a personal treaty, or the flat denial of a safe conduct for persons to begin a treaty, be greater signs of a real intention to peace; and shall now only insist upon his former message of the 26th of this December; that upon his repair to Westminster, he doubts not but so to join his endeavours with his two houses of parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not only concerning the business of Ireland, but also for the settling of a way for the payment of the publick debts, as well to the Scots
and

and to the city of London, as others. And as already he hath shewn a fair way for the settling of the militia, so he shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just jealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this proposition of a personal treaty could never have entered into his majesty's thoughts, if he had not resolved to make apparent to all the world, that the public good and peace of this kingdom is far dearer to him than the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration that he particularly envies his majesty should be the chief author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of these nations. To conclude, whosoever will not be ashamed that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test, and those who have a real sense, and do truly commiserate the miseries of their bleeding country, let them speedily and chearfully embrace his majesty's proposition for his personal treaty at Westminster, which by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted kingdoms restore the happiness of a long wished-for and lasting peace. Given at our court at Oxford, the 29th day of December, 1645.

XVII. From Oxford, January 15, 1645-6, in pursuance of the former; containing his majesty's concessions and offers. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.

CHARLES R.

BUT that these are times wherein nothing is strange, it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparalleled long detention of his majesty's trumpet, sent with his gracious message of the 26th of December last; peace being the only subject of it, and his majesty's personal treaty the mean

means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder that his majesty should be so long from enquiring after it, if that the hourly expectation thereof had not in some measure satisfied his impatience. But lest his majesty by his long silence should condemn himself of carelessness in that which so much concerns the good of all his people, he thinks it high time to enquire after his said trumpeter: for since all men who pretend any goodness must desire peace; and that all men know treaties to be the best and most christian way to procure it; and there being as little question, that his majesty's personal presence in it is the likeliest way to bring it to an happy issue; he judges there must be some strange variety of accidents which causeth this most tedious delay. Wherefore his majesty earnestly desires to have a speedy account of his former message, the subject whereof is peate, and the means his personal presence at Westminster; where the government of the church being settled as it was in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, and full liberty for the ease of their consciences who will not communicate in that service established by law, and likewise for the free and publick use of the directory (prescribed, and by command of the two houses of parliament now practised in some parts of the city of London) to such as shall desire to use the same, and all forces being agreed to be disbanded; his majesty will then forthwith (as he hath in his message of the 29th of December last already offered) join with his two houses of parliament, in settling some way for the payment of the publick debts to his Scotch subjects, the city of London, and others. And his majesty having proposed a fair way for the settling of the militia, which now by this long delay seems not to be thought sufficient security; his majesty (to shew how really he will employ himself at his coming to Westminster for making this a lasting peace, and taking away all jealousies, how groundless soever) will endeavour upon debate with his two houses so to dispose of it (as likewise of the business

of Ireland) as may give to them and both kingdoms just satisfaction : not doubting also but to give good contentment to his two houses of parliament in the choice of the lord admiral, the officers of state, and others, if his two houses by their ready inclinations to peace shall give him encouragement thereunto.

Thus his majesty having taken occasion by his just impatience so to explain his intentions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to this succeeding treaty ; if now there shall be so much as a delay of the same, he calls God and the world to witness, who they are that not only hinder but reject this kingdom's future happiness ; it being so much the stranger, that his majesty's coming to Westminster (which was first the greatest pretence for taking up arms) should be so much as delayed, much less not accepted, or refused : but his majesty hopes that God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked men to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted kingdom.

Given at our court at Oxford, the fifteenth of January, 1645.

XVIII. From Oxford, Jan. 17, 1645-6. for an answer to his former messages. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.

CHARLES R.

HIs majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for his not admittance to Westminster for a personal treaty, because it would enforce a stile not suitable to his end, it being the peace of these miserable kingdoms : yet thus much he cannot but say to those who have sent him this answer, that if they had considered what they have done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood, by withdrawing themselves from their duty to him in a time when he had granted so much to his subjects, and in violating the known laws of the kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow subjects (to say

no more, to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his majesty's actions. Wherefore his majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last paper of the 13th of January, sent another message to them of the 15th, wherein by divers particulars he enlargeth himself to shew the reality of his endeavours for peace, by his desired personal treaty (which he still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) he thinks fit by this message to call for an answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly, no rational man can think their last paper can be any answer to his former demands, the scope of it being, that because there is a war, therefore there should be no treaty for peace. And is it possible to expect that the propositions mentioned should be the grounds of a lasting peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own king speak? but whatever the success hath been of his majesty's former messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the high strain of those who deal with his majesty, yet he will neither want fatherly bowels to his subjects in general, nor will he forget that God hath appointed him for their king, with whom he treats. Wherefore he now demands a speedy answer to his last and former messages.

Given at our court at Oxford, this 17th of January, 1645.

XIX. *From Oxford, January 24, 1645-6. for answer to his former message, and concerning their reasons against a personal treaty. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

THe procuring peace to these kingdoms by treaty is so much desired by his majesty, that no unjust aspersions whatsoever, or any other discouragements shall make him desist from doing his endeavour

therein, until he shall see it altogether impossible; and he therefore hath thought fitting so far only to make reply to that paper or answer which he hath received of the 13th of this instant January, as may take away those objections which are made against his majesty's coming to Westminster, expecting still an answer to his messages of the fifteenth and seventeenth, which he hopes, by this time, have begotten better thoughts and resolutions in the members of both houses.

And first therefore, whereas in the said last paper it is objected as an impediment to his majesty's personal treaty, that much innocent blood hath been shed in this war by his majesty's commissions, &c. he will not now dispute, (it being apparent to all the world by whom this blood hath been spilt) but rather professeth that there should be no more: and to that end only he hath desired this personal treaty, as judging it the most immediate means to abolish so many horrid confusions in all his kingdoms. And it is no argument to say, that there shall be no such personal treaty because there have been wars, it being a strong inducement to have such a treaty to put an end to the war.

Secondly, That there should be no such personal treaty, because some of his Irish subjects have repaired to his assistance in it, seems an argument altogether as strange as the other, as always urging that there should be no physick because the party is sick. And in this particular it hath been often observed unto them, that those whom they call Irish, who have so expressed their loyalty to their sovereign, were indeed (for the most part) such English protestants as had been formerly sent into Ireland by the two houses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by the neglect of those that sent them thither, who should there have better provided for them. And for any foreign forces, it is too apparent that their armies have swarmed with them, when his Majesty hath had very few or none.

And whereas, for a third impediment, it is alledged

ed that the prince is in the head of an army in the west, and that there are divers garrisons still kept in his majesty's obedience, and that there are forces in Scotland, it must be as much confessed as that as yet there is no peace : and therefore it is desired, that by such a personal treaty all these impediments may be removed. And it is not here amiss to put them in mind, how long since his majesty did press a disbanding of all forces on both sides, the refusing whereof hath been the cause of this objection.

And whereas exception is taken, that there is a time limited in the proposition for his majesty's personal treaty, thereupon inferring that he should again return to hostility, his majesty protesteth, that he seeks this treaty to void future hostility, and to procure a lasting peace ; and if he can meet with like inclinations to peace in those he desires to treat with, he will bring such affections and resolutions in himself as shall end all these unhappy bloody differences.

As for those engagements which his majesty hath desired for his security, whosoever shall call to mind the particular occasions that enforced his majesty to leave his city of London and Westminster, will judge his demand very reasonable and necessary for his safety. But he no way conceiveth how the lord-mayor, aldermen, common council, and militia of London, were either subject or subordinate to that authority which is alleged, as knowing neither law nor practice for it : and if the two armies be, he believes it is more than can be paralleled by any former times in this kingdom. Nor can his majesty understand how his majesty's seeking of a personal security can be any breach of privilege ; it being likely to be infringed by hindering his majesty from coming freely to his two houses.

As for the objection, that his majesty omitted to mention the settling religion, and securing the peace of his native kingdom, his majesty declares, that he conceives that it was included in his former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his latter message of the 15th present. But, for their better satisfaction,

he again expresseth that it was, and ever shall be, both his meaning and endeavour in this treaty desired: and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a final ending of such distractions as afflict this kingdom, but either by treaty or conquest; the latter of which his majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if his personal assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge; when by that means not only all unnecessary delays will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easy. And therefore he doth now again earnestly insist upon that proposition, expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectual, being formed before a personal treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? wherefore his majesty, who is most concerned in the good of his people, and is most desirous to restore peace and happiness to his three kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an answer to his said former messages, to which he hath hitherto received none.

Given at our court at Oxon, the twenty fourth day of January, 1645.

XX. *From Oxford, January 29, 1645-6. Concerning the negotiations in Ireland; with his majesty's further concessions, in order to a personal treaty. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty having received information from the lord lieutenant and council in Ireland, that the earl of Glamorgan hath, without his or their directions or privity, entered into a treaty with some commissioners on the Roman-catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certain articles with the said commissioners, highly derogatory to his majesty's honour and royal dignity, and most prejudicial

judicial unto the protestant religion and church there in Ireland; whereupon the said earl of Glamorgan is arrested upon suspicion of high treason, and imprisoned by the said lord lieutenant and council, at the instance and by the impeachment of the lord Digby, who (by reason of his place and former employment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said earl hath been to his majesty's intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the earl of Glamorgan should be any ways understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty:

His majesty having, in his former messages for a personal treaty, offered to give contentment to his two houses in the business of Ireland, hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said houses of parliament, and the rest of his subjects in all his kingdoms, to send this declaration to his said houses, containing the whole truth of the business: which is,

That the earl of Glamorgan having made offer unto him to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into England for his majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

That he had no commission at all to treat of any thing else, without the privy and directions of the lord lieutenant, much less to capitulate any thing concerning religion, or any property belonging either to church or laity.

That it clearly appears by the lord lieutenant's proceedings with the said earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, until by accident it came to his knowledge.

And his majesty doth protest, that until such time as he had advertisement that the person of the said earl of Glamorgan was arrested and restrained, as is above said, he never heard, nor had any kind of notice, that the said earl had entered into any kind of treaty or capitulation with those Irish commissioners:

much less that he had concluded or signed those articles so destructive both to church and state, and so repugnant to his majesty's publick professions and known resolutions.

And for the further vindication of his majesty's honour and integrity herein, he doth declare, that he is so far from considering any thing contained in those papers or writings framed by the said earl, and those commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given commandment to the lord lieutenant and the council there, to proceed against the said earl, as one who either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of his majesty's reputation with his good subjects; and so impertinently framed those articles of his own head, without the consent, privity, or directions of his majesty, or the lord lieutenant, or any of his majesty's council there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of his majesty's protestant subjects in Ireland, whose case was daily represented unto him to be so desperate, his majesty had given commission to the lord lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there, as might be for the safety of that crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and no way derogatory to his own honour and publick professions.

But to the end that his majesty's real intentions in this business of Ireland may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both houses of parliament, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland; especially concerning his majesty's not being engaged in any peace or agreement there, he doth desire, if the two houses shall admit of his majesty's repair to London for a personal treaty (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to his majesty, and a pass or safe conduct with a blank sent for a messenger to be immediately dispatched into Ireland, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his majesty's resolution of leaving the managing of the business of Ireland wholly to the houses, and to make no peace there but with their consent; which, in case it shall
please

please God to bless his endeavours in the treaty with success, his majesty doth hereby engage himself to do.

And for a further explanation of his majesty's intentions in his former messages, he doth now declare, that if his personal repair to London, as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a peace thereon shall ensue, he will then leave the nomination of the persons to be entrusted with the militia wholly to his two houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the paper delivered by his majesty's commissioners at Uxbridge the 6th of February 1644, for the term of seven years, as hath been desired, to be given immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the disbanding of all forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the garrisons erected since these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before-mentioned the power of the militia shall entirely revert and remain as before.

And for their further security, his majesty (the peace succeeding) will be content, that, *pro hac vice*, the two houses shall nominate the admiral, officers of state, and judges, to hold their places during life, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the king and the two houses of parliament.

As for matter of religion, his majesty doth further declare, That by the liberty offered in his message of the 15th present, for the ease of their consciences, who will not communicate in the service already established by act of parliament in this kingdom, he intends that all other protestants, behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the civil government, shall have the free exercise of their religion, according to their own way.

And for the total removing of all fears and jealousies, his majesty is willing to agree, that upon the conclusion of peace, there shall be a general act of oblivion and free pardon past by act of parliament in both his kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined, that in the making these propositions his majesty's kingdom of Scot-

land and his subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, his majesty declares, that what is here mentioned touching the militia, and the naming of officers of state, and judges, shall likewise extend to his kingdom of Scotland.

And now his majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his intentions and desires of making a happy and well grounded peace, if any person shall decline that happiness, by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the world his intention and design can be no other, than the total subversion and change of that ancient and happy government of this kingdom, under which the English nation hath so long flourished. Given at our court at Oxon, the 29th of January, 1645.

XXI. *From Oxford, Feb. 26. 1645-6. for an answer to the former. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty needs to make no excuse, though he sent no more messages unto you ; for he very well knows he ought not to do it, if he either stood upon punctilio's of honour, or his own private interest ; the one being already called in question by his often sending, and the other assuredly prejudged, if a peace be concluded from that he hath already offered, he having therein departed with many his undoubted rights. But nothing being equally dear unto him to the preservation of his people, his majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects, and delays, and once more desires you to give him a speedy answer to his last message ; for his majesty believes it doth very well become him (after this very long delay) at last to utter his impatience, since the goods and blood of his subjects cry so much for peace. Given at our court at Oxford, the 26th day of February 1645.

XXII. *From*

XXII. *From Oxford, March 23, 1645-6. concerning his return to the houses. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster.*

CHARLES R.

Notwithstanding the unexpected silence instead of answer to his majesty's many and gracious messages to both houses, whereby it may appear, that they desire to obtain their ends by force rather than by treaty, which may justly discourage his majesty from any more overtures of that kind; yet his majesty conceives he shall be much wanting in his duty to God, and in what he oweth to the safety of his people, if he should not intend to prevent the great inconveniencies that may otherwise hinder a safe and well grounded peace. His majesty therefore now proposeth, that, so he may have the faith of both houses of parliament for the preservation of his honour, person, and estate; and that liberty be given to all those who do and have adhered to his majesty, to go to their own houses, and there to live peaceably enjoying their estates, all sequestrations being taken off, without being compelled to take any oath not enjoined by the undoubted laws of the kingdom, or being put to any other molestation whatsoever; he will immediately disband all his forces, and dismantle all his garrisons, and being accompanied with his royal, not his martial attendance, return to his two houses of parliament, and there reside with them. And for the better security of all his majesty's subjects, he proposeth, that he with his said two houses immediately upon his coming to Westminster will pass an act of oblivion and free pardon, and where his majesty will further do whatsoever they will advise him for the good and peace of this kingdom.

And as for the kingdom of Scotland, his majesty hath made no mention of it here, in regard of the great loss of time which must now be spent in expecting an answer from thence, but declares that immediately upon his coming to Westminster, he will apply him-

self to give them all satisfaction touching that kingdom.

If his majesty could possibly doubt the success of this offer, he could use many arguments to persuade them to it; but shall only insist on that great one, of giving an instant peace to these afflicted kingdoms. Given at our court at Oxford, the 23d March 1645.

XXIII. *From Southwell, May 18, 1646. with his further concessions for the obtaining of peace. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty having understood from both his houses of parliament, that it was not safe for him to come to London (whither he had purposed to repair, if so he might, by their advice to do whatsoever may be best for the good and peace of these kingdoms) until he shall first give his consent to such propositions as were to be presented to him from them; and being certainly informed that the armies were marching so fast up to Oxford, as made that no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himself hither, only to secure his own person, and with no intention to continue this war any longer, or to make any division between his two kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both, as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy and well grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity to these kingdoms answerable to the best times of his progenitors.

And since the settling of religion ought to be the chiefest care of all counsels, his majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two houses of parliament all the ways and means possible for speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; and particularly that they take the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster.

Likewise concerning the militia of England, for securing his people against all pretensions of danger,
his

his majesty is pleased to have it settled as was offered at the treaty at Uxbridge, all the persons being to be named for the trust by the two houses of the parliament of England for the space of seven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his majesty and his two houses of parliament.

And the like for the kingdom of Scotland.

Concerning the wars in Ireland, his majesty will do whatsoever is possible for him to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his majesty then desires that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both kingdoms may be speedily sent to him; his majesty being resolved to comply with his parliament in every thing that shall be for the happiness of his subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have so produced so many sad effects.

His majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankful acceptance of them, nor doth he doubt but that his two kingdoms will be careful to maintain him in his honour, and in his just and lawful rights, which is the only way to make a happy composition of these unnatural divisions; and likewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the peace between the two kingdoms for the time to come; and will take a speedy course for easing and quieting his afflicted people, by satisfying the publick debts, by disbanding of all armies, and whatsoever else shall be judged conducive to that end: that so all hindrances being removed, he may return to his parliament with mutual comfort.

Southwell, May 18, 1646.

P. S. His majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence his real intentions to peace, is willing that his forces in and about Oxford be disbanded, and the fortifications of the city dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions, which being granted to the town and forces there, his majesty will give the like order to the rest of the garrison.

XXIV. *From*

XXIV. *From Newcastle, June 10, 1646. For propositions for peace, and a personal treaty. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of his people in his three kingdoms for some years past, and being afflicted with their distresses and inquiet condition through the distractions about religion, the keeping of forces on foot in the fields and garrisons, the not satisfying of public debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of an unnatural war in any of these kingdoms, or by rending and dividing these kingdoms so happily united; and having sent a gracious message unto both houses of parliament and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, expressing the necessary causes of his coming from Oxford unto the Scotch army (without any intention to make a division, where he is in freedom and right capacity to settle a true peace) and containing such offers as he conceived would have been accepted, with a general clause of complying with their desires; and being impatient of delays, and not acquainted with the particulars which may give contentment to them: his majesty doth earnestly desire, that the propositions of peace so often promised, and so much expected, may be speedily sent unto him, that upon consideration of them, he may apply himself to give such satisfaction as may be the foundation of a firm peace.

And for the better and more speedy attaining thereunto, his majesty doth further propound, that he may come to London with safety, freedom, and honour, where he resolves to comply with his houses of parliament in every thing which may be most for the good of his subjects, and perfect what remains for settling both kingdoms and people in a happy condition; being likewise most confident that they, according

ing

ing to their reiterated declarations and solemn protestations, will be zealous in the maintenance of his honour and just and lawful rights. And as his majesty desires the houses of parliament to disburden the kingdom of all forces and garrisons in their power, except such as before these unhappy times have been maintained for the necessary defence and safety of this kingdom : so he is willing forthwith to disband all his forces and garrisons within the same, as the inclosed order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers his majesty shall have such satisfaction as he may be confident a firm peace shall ensue thereon, his majesty will then give order for his son the prince his present return.

Newcastle, June 10, 1646.

To our trusty and well beloved Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Thomas Tildesley, Col. H. Washington, Col. Thomas Blagge, governors of our cities and towns of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and Wallingford; and all other commanders of any towns, castles, and forts, in our kingdom of England.

CHARLES R.

HAVING resolved to comply with the desires of our parliament in every thing which may be for the good of our subjects, and leave no means un-essay'd for removing all differences amongst us; therefore we have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of our intentions of settling a happy and firm peace, to require you upon honourable terms to quit those towns, castles, and forts intrusted to you by us, and to disband all the forces under your several commands.

Newcastle, June 10, 1646.

XXV. *From Newcastle, Aug. 1, 1646. For a personal treaty upon the propositions sent him. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

THE propositions tendered to his majesty by the commissioners from the lords and commons of the

the parliament of England assembled at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, (to which the houses of parliament have taken twice so many months for deliberation as they have assigned days for his majesty's answer) do import so great alterations in government both in church and kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive answer before a full debate, wherein these propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof, may be rightly weighed and understood, and that his majesty, upon a full view of the whole propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away and changed. In all which he finds (upon discourse with the said commissioners) that they are so bound up from any capacity either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a present judgment of and answer to these propositions, whereby he can answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the world can never be, unless the just power of the crown, as well as the freedom and property of the subject, with the just liberty and privileges of the parliament, be likewise settled.) To which end his majesty desires and proposeth to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the public faith, and security of the two houses of parliament and the Scotch commissioners, that he shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety; where by his personal presence, he may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have these doubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be destructive to his just regal power, if he shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand; as likewise, that he may make known to them such his reasonable demands, as he is most assured will be very much conducive to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of religion, the just privileges of parliament, with the freedom and property of the subject.

And

And his majesty assures them, that as he can never condescend unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the land he is born unto : so he will chearfully grant and give his assent unto all such bills, at the desire of his two houses, or reasonable demands for Scotland, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particular (much less any body's else) in respect of the happiness of these kingdoms. Wherefore his majesty conjures them as christians, as subjects, and as men who desire to leave a good name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peaceably settled.

Newcastle, Aug. 1, 1646.

P. S. Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his majesty will immediately send for the prince his son, absolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return into this kingdom.

XXVI. *From Newcastle, December 20, 1646. for a personal treaty at or near London. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty's thoughts being always sincerely bent to the peace of his kingdoms, was and will be ever desirous to take all ways which might the most clearly make appear the candor of his intentions to his people; and to this end could find no better way than to propose a personal free debate with his two houses of parliament upon all the present differences : yet finding, very much against his expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his majesty bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known by a particular answer to the propositions delivered to him in the name of both kingdoms the 24th of July last. But the more he endeavoured it, he more plainly saw, that any answer he could make would be subject to mis-informations and mis-constructions, which upon

upon his own paraphrases and explanations he is most confident will give so good satisfaction, as would doubtless cause a happy and lasting peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, his majesty again proposeth, and desires again, to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, upon the publick faith and security of his two houses of parliament and the Scotch commissioners, that he shall be there with honour, freedom, and safety: where, by his personal presence, he may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared and those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniences) give a particular answer to the propositions; and with which he doubts not but so to manifest his real intentions for the settling of religion, the just privileges of parliament, with the freedom and property of the subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as he will make no other demands but such as he believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the tranquility of the people, so he will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happiness. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the crown, according to your many protestations and professions: for certainly, except king and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your king who desires to be heard, (the which if refused to a subject by a king, he would be thought a tyrant for it) and for that end which all men profess to desire. Wherefore his majesty conjures you, as you desire to shew yourselves really what you profess, even as you are good christians and subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which he is confident God will so bless, that it will be the readiest means by which these kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terror to their enemies.

Newcastle, 20 December 1646.

XXVII. *From Holdenby, Feb. 17, 1646-7. desiring some of his chaplains. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster.*

Since I have never dissembled nor hid my conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for me to be attended by some of my chaplains, whose opinions, as clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not only for the exercise of my conscience, but also for clearing of my judgment concerning the present differences in religion; as I have at full declared to Mr Marshall and his fellow-minister, having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times, whereby the distractions of this church may be the better settled. Wherefore I desire, that at least two of these reverend divines, whose names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon me, for their discharging of their duty unto me according to their function.

CHARLES R.

Holdenby, 17 February 1646.

B. London, B. Salisbury, B. Peterborough, Dr Sheldon, clerk of my closet, Dr Marsh, dean of York, Dr Sanderson, Dr Baily, Dr Heywood, Dr Beal, Dr Fuller, Dr Hammond, Dr Taylor.

XXVIII. *From Holdenby, March 6. 1646-7. In pursuance of the former. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster.*

IT being now seventeen days since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed, concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended with some of my chaplains

lains whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for me, even considering my present condition, whether it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather than not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I do you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being totally grounded upon reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needful to mention) the divers reasons, which no christian can be ignorant of, for point of conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in religion which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in argument, but to seek and submit to truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) always holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two houses of parliament in all things which I conceive not to be against my conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my chaplains upon me.

Holdenby, March 6, 1646.

CHARLES R.

XXIX. *From Holdenby, May 12, 1647. In answer to their propositions. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

AS the daily expectation of the coming of the propositions hath made his majesty this long time to forbear giving his answer unto them; so the appearance of their sending being no more, for any thing he can hear, than it was at his first coming hither,

hither, notwithstanding that the earl of Lauderdale hath been at London above these ten days, (whose not coming was said to be the only stop) hath caused his majesty thus to anticipate their coming to him. And yet considering his condition, that his servants are denied access to him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not his own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the commissioners or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with his majesty, or that any letters should be given to or received from him; may he not truly say, that he is not in case fit to make concessions or give answers, since he is not master of these ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean soever his birth be? and certainly he would still be silent as to this subject, until his condition were much mended, did he not prefer such a right understanding betwixt him and his parliaments of both kingdoms, which may make a firm and lasting peace in all his dominions, before any particular of his own, or any earthly blessing: and therefore his majesty hath diligently employed his utmost endeavours for divers months past so to inform his understanding and satisfy his conscience, that he might be able to give such answers to the propositions as would be most conformable to his parliament's; but he ingenuously professes, that, notwithstanding all the pains that he hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto him, that without disclaiming that reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of him and his people, and without putting the greatest violence upon his own conscience, he cannot give his consent to all of them. Yet his majesty (that it may appear to all the world how desirous he is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to express his readiness to grant what he may, and his willingness to receive from them, and that personally, if his two houses at Westminster shall approve thereof, such further information in the rest as may best convince his judgment, and satisfy those doubts which are not yet clear unto him: desiring them
also

also to consider, that if his majesty intended to wind himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easy for him now readily to consent to what hath or shall be proposed unto him, and afterwards choose his time to break all, alledging that forced concessions are not to be kept? surely he might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maxims in this kind are not the guides of his majesty's actions; for he freely and clearly avows, that he holds it unlawful for any man, and most base in a king, to recede from his promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint. Wherefore his majesty not only rejecting those acts which he esteems unworthy of him, but even passing by that which he might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of his present condition, thus answers the first proposition:

That upon his majesty's coming to London, he will heartily join in all that shall concern the honour of his two kingdoms, or the assembly of the states of Scotland, or of the commissioners or deputies of either kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderness will look upon those things which concern his majesty's honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning religion, his majesty proposeth, that he will confirm the presbyterial government, the assembly of divines at Westminster and the directory, for three years, being the time set down by the two houses, so that his majesty and his household be not hindered from that form of God's service which they formerly have had: and also that a free consultation and debate be had with the divines at Westminster, (twenty of his majesty's nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his majesty and the two houses how the church shall be governed after the said three years, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the covenant, his majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular answer thereunto
until

until his coming to London, because it being a matter of conscience, he cannot give a resolution therein till he may be assisted with the advice of some of his own chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then he will make clearly appear both his zeal to the protestant profession and the union of these two kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this covenant.

To the seventh and eighth propositions his majesty will consent.

To the ninth his majesty doubts not but to give good satisfaction, when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of.

To the tenth his majesty's answer is, that he hath been always ready to prevent the practices of papists, and therefore is content to pass an act of parliament for that purpose; and also that the laws against them be duly executed.

His majesty will give his consent to the act for the due observation of the Lord's-day, for the suppressing of innovations, and those concerning the preaching of God's word, and touching non-residence and pluralities; and his majesty will yield to such act or acts as shall be requisite to raise moneys for the payment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting also that his will be therein included.

As to the proposition touching the militia, though his majesty cannot consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, because thereby he conceives he wholly parts with the power of the sword, entrusted to him by God and the laws of the land for the protection and government of his people, thereby at once divesting himself and dis-inheriting his posterity of that right and prerogative of the crown which is absolutely necessary to the kingly office, and so weakening monarchy in this kingdom, that little more than the name and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be only security for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due perfor-

mance.

mance of all the agreements which are now to be concluded, which is desired, (which his majesty always understood to be the case, and hopes that herein he is not mistaken) his majesty will give abundant satisfaction; to which end he is willing by act of parliament, that the whole power of the militia both by sea and land for the space of ten years be in the hands of such persons as the two houses shall nominate, giving them power during the said term to change the said persons, and substitute others in their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return to the proper channel again, as it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory. And now his majesty conjures his two houses of parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his majesty their king, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow-subjects, that they will accept of this his majesty's offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be restored to this languishing kingdom. His majesty will grant the like to the kingdom of Scotland, if it be desired, and agree to all things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two kingdoms.

Touching Ireland (other things being agreed) his majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutual declaration proposed to be established in both kingdoms by act of parliament, and the modifications, qualifications, and branches which follow in the propositions, his majesty only professes, that he doth not sufficiently understand nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them: but this he well knoweth, that a general act of oblivion is the best bond of peace, and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other kingdoms hath usually and happily in all ages granted general pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of many persons and families otherwise exposed to ruin might not become fuel to new disorders, or seeds to future troubles. His majesty therefore desires, that his two houses of parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon his condition herein, and
the

the perpetual dishonour that must cleave to him, if he shall thus abandon so many persons of condition and fortune that have engaged themselves with and for him out of a sense of duty; and propounds, as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to him, that a general act of oblivion and free pardon be forthwith passed by act of parliament.

Touching the new great seal, his majesty is very willing to confirm both it and all the acts done by virtue thereof until this present time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make void those acts of his done by virtue of his great seal, which in honour and justice he is obliged to maintain: and that the future government thereof may be in his majesty, according to the due course of law.

Concerning the officers mentioned in the 19th article; his majesty, when he shall come to Westminster, will gratify his parliament all that possibly he may, without destroying the alterations which are necessary for the crown.

His majesty will willingly consent to the act for the confirmation of the privileges and customs of the city of London, and all that is mentioned in the propositions for their particular advantage.

And now that his majesty hath thus far endeavoured to comply with the desires of his two houses of parliament, to the end that this agreement may be firm and lasting, without the least face or question of restraint to blemish the same, his majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted to his parliament at Westminster with that honour which is due to their sovereign, there solemnly to confirm the same, and legally to pass the acts before mentioned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in all the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pledges of mutual love, trust, and confidence, as shall most concern the good of him and his people.; upon which happy agreement, his majesty will dispatch his directions to the prince his son, to return immediately to him, and will undertake for his ready obedience thereunto.

Holdenby, May 12, 1647.

VOL. I.

M

XXX. *From*

XXX. *From Hampton-court, Sep. 9. 1647. In answer to the propositions presented to him there. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and to the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

His majesty cannot choose but be passionately sensible (as he believes all his good subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsettled state of this kingdom; and he calls God to witness, and is willing to give testimony to all the world of his readiness to contribute his uttermost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His majesty having perused the propositions now brought to him, finds them the same in effect which were offered to him at Newcastle; to some of which as he could not then consent without violation of his conscience and honour; so neither can he agree to others now, conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented unto him, as being destructive to the main principal interests of the army, and of all those whose affections concur with them. And his majesty having seen the proposals of the army to the commissioners from his two houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and the settling of a just and lasting peace: to which proposals as he conceives his two houses not to be strangers; so he believes they will think with him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, than the propositions which at this time are tendered unto him: he therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgment in order to a peace) that his two houses would instantly take into consideration those proposals upon which there may be a personal treaty with his majesty, and upon such other propositions

sitions as his majesty shall make; hoping that the said proposals may be so moderated in the said treaty, as to render them the more capable of his majesty's full concession: wherein he resolves to give full satisfaction to his people, for whatsoever shall concern the settling of the protestant profession, with liberty to tender consciences, and the securing of the laws, liberties, and properties of his subjects, and all the just privileges of parliaments for the future: and likewise by his present deportment in this treaty, he will make the world clearly judge of his intentions in matters of future government. In which treaty his majesty will be well pleased (if it be thought fit) that commissioners from the army (whose the proposals are) may likewise be admitted. His majesty therefore conjures his two houses of parliament, by the duty they owe to God and his majesty their king, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow-subjects, both for the relief of their present sufferings, and to prevent future miseries, that they will forthwith accept of this his majesty's offer, whereby the joyful news of peace may be restored to this distressed kingdom. And for what concerns the kingdom of Scotland, mentioned in the propositions, his majesty will very willingly treat upon those particulars with the Scotch commissioners, and doubts not but to give reasonable satisfaction to that his kingdom.

At Hampton court, the ninth of September, 1647.

XXXI. *From Hampton-court, Nov. 11. 1647. Left on the table at his departure. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

Liberty being that which in all times hath been, but especially now is, the common theme and desire of all men; common reason shews that kings less than any should endure captivity, and yet I call God and the world to witness with what patience I have endured a tedious restraint; which so long as I

had any hopes that this sort of my suffering might conduce to the peace of my kingdoms, or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding, by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my personal ruin, but likewise be of much more prejudice than furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by natural as political obligations to seek my safety, by retiring myself for some time from the publick view both of my friends and enemies. And I appeal to all indifferent men to judge, if I have not just cause to free myself from the hands of those who change their principles with their condition, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the nobility, taking away their negative voice, and with whom the levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than punished. And as for their intentions to my person, their changing and putting more strict guards upon me, with the discharging most of all those servants of mine, whom formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement mis-interpreted; for I shall earnestly and incessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well grounded peace wherever I am or shall be, and that (as much as may be) without the effusion of more christian blood: for which how many times have I desired, pressed to be heard? and yet no ear given to me. And can any reasonable man think that (according to the ordinary course of affairs) there can be a settled peace without it? or that God will bless those who refuse to hear their own king? surely no. Nay I must further add, that (besides what concerns myself) unless all other chief interests have not only a hearing, but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to wit, the presbyterians, independents, army, those who have adhered to me, and even the Scots) I say, there cannot (I speak not of miracles, it being, in my opinion, a sinful presumption in such cases to expect or trust to them) be a safe or lasting peace.

Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement; so I take

God to witness that the publick peace is no less before mine eyes: and I can find no better way to express this my profession (I know not what a wiser may do) than by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction. As for example, the army (for the rest, though necessary, yet I suppose, are not difficult to content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, have an act of oblivion or indemnity (which should extend to all the rest of my subjects) and that all their arrears should be speedily and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindered from using such lawful and honest means as I shall choose. To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour, and safety, and I shall instantly break through this cloud of retirement, and shew myself really to be *Pater Patriæ*.

Hampton-court, November 11, 1647.

XXXII. *From the Isle of Wight, November 17, 1647*

For a personal treaty, with his particular concessions. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty is confident that before this time his two houses of parliament have received the message which he left behind him at Hampton-court the eleventh of this month, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced him to go from thence, as likewise his constant endeavours for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace where-soever he should be; and being now in a place where he conceives himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly, he thinks it necessary (not only for making good of his own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two houses for that effect, which

upon due examination of all interests may best conduce thereunto.

And because religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his majesty will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing archbishops, bishops, &c. his majesty clearly professeth, he cannot give his consent thereunto, both in relation as he is a christian, and a king. For the first, he avows that he is satisfied in his judgment that this order was placed in the church by the apostles themselves, and ever since their time hath continued in all christian churches throughout the world until this last century of years; and in this church in all times of change and reformation it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his ancestors, as the great preserver of doctrine, discipline, and order in the service of God. As a king at his coronation, he hath not only taken a solemn oath to maintain this order, but his majesty and his predecessors, in their confirmations of the great charter, have inseparably woven the right of the church into the liberties of the rest of the subjects. And yet he is willing it be provided that the particular bishops perform the several duties of their callings both by their personal residence and frequent preachings in their dioceses, as also that they exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination without the consent of their presbyters; and will consent that their powers in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous to tender consciences. Wherefore since his majesty is willing to give ease to the consciences of others, he sees no reason why he alone and those of his judgment should be pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can his majesty consent to the alienation of church-lands, because it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest sacrilege; as also that it subverts the intentions of so many pious donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations, which his majesty is very unwilling to undergo: and besides the matter of conscience, his majesty believes it to be a prejudice to the public good, many of his subjects having the benefit
of

of renewing leases at much easier rates than if those possessions were in the hands of private men: not omitting the discouragement which it will be to all learning and industry, when such eminent rewards shall be taken away, which now lie open to the children of meanest persons.

Yet his majesty considering the great present distempers concerning church discipline, and that the presbyterian government is now in practice, his majesty, to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of his two houses, is content that the said government be legally permitted to stand in the same condition it now is for three years; provided that his majesty and those of his judgment (or any other who cannot in conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the presbyterian government, but have free practice of their own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the divines at Westminster, (twenty of his majesty's nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his majesty and the two houses how the church government, after the said time, shall be settled, (or sooner, if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the word of God, with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon conscientious grounds from that settlement. Always provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the Romish profession, nor exempting of any popish recusant from the penalties of the laws, or to tolerate the publick profession of atheism or blasphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the apostles', Nicene and Athanasian creeds, they having been received by and had in reverence of all the christian churches, and more particularly by this of England, ever since the reformation.

Next the militia being that right which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the crown by the laws of this nation, and that which former parliaments, as likewise this, have acknowledged so to be, his majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which

the laws of God and this land have annexed to the crown for the protection and security of his people, as to divest himself and successors of the power of the sword : yet to give an infallible evidence of his desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his majesty will consent to an act of parliament, that the whole power of the militia both by sea and land, for and during his whole reign, shall be ordered and disposed by his two houses of parliament, or by such persons as they shall appoint, with powers limited for suppressing of forces within this kingdom to the disturbance of the public peace, and against foreign invasions ; and that they shall have power during his said reign to raise monies for the purposes aforesaid ; and that neither his majesty that now is or any other (by any authority derived only from him) shall execute any of the said powers during his majesty's said reign, but such as shall act by the consent and approbation of the two houses of parliament. Nevertheless his majesty intends that all patents, commissions, and other acts concerning the militia, be made and acted as formerly ; and that after his majesty's reign, all the power of the militia shall return entirely to the crown, as it was in the times of Queen Elizabeth and King James of blessed memory.

After this head of the militia, the consideration of the arrears due to the army is not improper to follow ; for the payment whereof, and the ease of his people, his majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can be done without the violation of his conscience and honour. Wherefore if his two houses shall consent to remit unto him such benefit out of sequestrations from Michaelmas last, and out of compositions that shall be made before the concluding of the peace, and the arrears of such as have been already made, the assistance of the clergy, and the arrears of such rents of his own revenue as his two houses shall not have received before the concluding of the peace, his majesty will undertake within the space of eighteen months the payment of four hundred thousand

thousand pounds for the satisfaction of the army; and if those means shall not be sufficient, his majesty intends to give way to the sale of forest-lands for that purpose, this being the publick debt which in his majesty's judgment is first to be satisfied. And for other publick debts already contracted upon church-lands or any other engagements, his majesty will give his consent to such act or acts for raising of monies for payment thereof, as both houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby his people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressures upon them than this absolute necessity requires..

And for the future securing of all fears, his majesty will consent, that an act of parliament be passed for the disposing of the great offices of state and naming of privy counsellors for the whole term of his reign by the two houses of parliament, their patents and commissions being taken from his majesty, and after to return to the crown, as is expressed in the article of the militia..

For the court of wards and liveries, his majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by turning of all tenures into common soccage, as well in point of revenue to the crown, as in the protection of many of his subjects being infants: nevertheless if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his subjects, rather than he will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, he will consent to an act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be settled upon his majesty and his successors in perpetuity, and that the arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the arrears of the army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his majesty will consent to an act of parliament for the suppressing and making null of all oaths, declarations, and proclamations against both or either house of parliament, and of all indictments and other proceedings against any persons for adhering to them: and his majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient to take away all seeds of future differences)

differences) that there be an act of oblivion to extend to all his subjects.

As for Ireland, the cessation there is long since determined; but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his majesty will give full satisfaction to his two houses concerning that kingdom.

And although his majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to avoid all his own grants and acts past under his great seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642, or to the confirming of all the acts and grants passed under that made by the two houses; yet his majesty is confident, that upon perusal of particulars, he shall give full satisfaction to his two houses as to what may reasonably be desired in that particular.

And now his majesty conceives that by these his offers (which he is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace) he hath clearly manifested his intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happiness of his people: and for the perfecting of these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two houses, and for such just and reasonable demands as his majesty shall find necessary to propose on his part, he earnestly desires a personal treaty at London with his two houses, in honour, freedom, and safety, it being in his judgment the most proper, and indeed only means to a firm and settled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by treaty perfected, his majesty believes his houses will think it reasonable, that the proposals of the army concerning the succession of parliaments and their due elections should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the kingdom of Scotland, his majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two houses of parliament on their behalf, or of the commissioners of that kingdom, or of both joined together, shall be made known unto him.

CHARLES R.

From the Isle of Wight, November 17, 1647.

XXXIII. *From Carisbrook, Dec. 6, 1647. For an answer to his last. To the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore; to be communicated to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

HAD his majesty thought it possible that his two houses could be employed in things of greater concernment than the peace of this miserable distracted kingdom, he would have expected with more patience their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of his message of the 17th of November last. But since there is not in nature any consideration preceeding to that of peace, his majesty's constant tenderness of the welfare of his subjects hath such a prevalence with him, that he cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personal treaty; which is only so much the more desired by his majesty, as it is superior to all other means of peace. And truly, when his majesty considers the several complaints he daily hears from all parts of this kingdom, that trade is so decayed, all commodities so dear, and taxes so insupportable, that even natural subsistence will suddenly fail; his majesty (to perform the trust reposed in him) must use his uttermost endeavours for peace, though he were to have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not his majesty done his part for it, by divesting himself of so much power and authority as by his last message he hath promised to do, upon the concluding of the whole peace? and hath he met with that acknowledgement from his two houses which this great grace and favour justly deserves? surely the blame of this great retarding of peace must fall somewhere else than on his majesty.

To conclude, if ye will but consider in how little time this necessary good work will be done, if you the two houses will wait on his majesty with the same resolutions for peace as he will meet you, he no way doubts but that you will willingly agree to this his majesty's earnest desire of a personal treaty, and

speedily desire his presence amongst you : where all things agreed on being digested into acts (till when it is most unreasonable for his majesty or his two houses to desire each of other the least concession) this kingdom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wished-for peace.

Carisbrook-castle, December 6, 1647.

XXXIV. *From Carisbrook, Dec. 28, 1647. In answer to the four bills and propositions, before the votes of no address. For the speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the lords and commons in the parliament of England at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland.*

CHARLES R.

THe necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers for a perfect settlement of peace, his majesty finds to be none of the least difficulties he hath met with since the time of his afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time that the two houses of the English parliament do present to his majesty several bills and propositions for his consent, the commissioners for Scotland do openly protest against them. So that, were there nothing in the case but the consideration of that difference, his majesty cannot imagine how to give such an answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise himself his great end, a perfect peace. And when his majesty further considers how impossible it is (in the condition he now stands) to fulfil the desires of the two houses, since the only ancient and known ways of passing laws are either by his majesty's personal assent in the house of peers, or by commission under his great seal of England : he cannot but wonder at such failings in the manner of address which is now made unto him ; unless his two houses intend that his majesty shall allow of a great seal made without his authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security itself, so for the present it seems very unreasonable to his majesty.

And

And though his majesty is willing to believe that the intentions of very many in both houses, in sending these bills before a treaty, was only to obtain a trust from him, and not to take any advantage, by passing them, to force other things from him which are either against his conscience or honour: yet his majesty believes it clear to all understandings, that these bills contain (as they are now penned) not only the divesting himself of all sovereignty, and that without possibility of recovering it either to him or his successors (except by repeal of those bills) but also the making his concessions guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upon the subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two houses for ever, to raise and levy forces for land or sea service of what persons (without distinction or quality) and to what numbers they please; and likewise for the payment of them, to levy what monies, in such sort and by such ways and means (and consequently upon the estates of whatsoever persons) as they shall think fit and appoint; which is utterly inconsistent with the liberty and property of the subject, and his majesty's trust in protecting them. So that if the major part of both houses shall think it necessary to put the rest of the propositions into bills, his majesty leaves all the world to judge how unsafe it would be for him to consent thereunto; and if not, what a strange condition (after the passing of these four bills) his majesty and all his subjects would be cast into. And here his majesty thinks it not unfit to wish his two houses to consider well the matter of their proceeding; that when his majesty desires a personal treaty with them for the settling of a peace, they in answer propose the very subject matter of the most essential part thereof to be first granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to posterity. Wherefore his majesty declares, that neither the desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome condition of life his majesty hath so long suffered, nor the apprehension of what may befall him in case his two houses shall not afford him a personal

personal treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any act till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then he intends not only to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other concessions mentioned in his message of the 16th of November last: which he thought would have produced better effects than what he finds in the bills and propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personal treaty (so passionately is he affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his majesty and all his subjects) of which he will not at all despair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded peace.) However his majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a christian and of a king; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two houses to consider their king, and to compassionate their fellow-subjects miseries.

Given at Carisbrook-castle in the Isle of Wight,
December 28, 1647.

XXXV. *From Carisbrook, August 10, 1648. In answer to the votes for a treaty. For the speaker of the lords house pro tempore, to be communicated to the lords and commons in the parliament of England at Westminster.*

C. R.

IF the peace of my dominions were not much dearer to me than any particular interest whatsoever; I had too much reason to take notice of the several votes which passed against me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven months: but since you my two houses of parliament have opened (as it seems to me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply myself thereunto; and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I may set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that we together may remove all impediments that
may

may hinder a happy conclusion of this treaty, which with all chearfulness I do embrace.

And to this wished end yourselves have laid most excellent grounds : for what can I reasonably expect more than to treat with honour, freedom and safety, upon such propositions as you have or shall present unto me, and such as I shall make to you ? but withal remember, that it is the definition, not names, of things which makes them rightly known ; and that without means to perform no proposition can take effect : and truly my present condition is such, that I can no more treat than a blind man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together : wherefore my first necessary demand is,

That you will recal all such votes and orders by which people are frightened from coming, writing, or speaking freely to me.

Next, that such men of all professions whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to me in this treaty, may be admitted to wait upon me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at Hampton-court. And indeed less cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made me by your votes. For how can I treat with honour, so long as people are terrified with votes and orders against coming to speak or write to me ? and am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a barber who came now with the commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon me ? Or with freedom, until I may call such unto me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult a work ? And for safety (I speak not of my person, having no apprehension that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, until I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all my dominions, and particularly of all those whose interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these kingdoms ? which leads me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this treaty to an happy end, which is,

That you alone, or you and I jointly, do invite the
Scots

Scots to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions as they shall make ; for certainly the publick and necessary interest they have in this great settlement is so clearly plain to all the world, that I believe no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this treaty in order to durable peace. Wherefore I will only say, that as I am a king of both nations, so I will yield to none in either kingdom for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both ; my resolution being, never to be partial for either to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place, (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial than real part of this treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name Newport in this Isle : yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great loss of time it will be to treat so far from the body of my two houses, when every small debate (of which doubtless there will be many) must be transmitted to Westminster before it be concluded. And really I think (though to some it may seem a paradox) that peoples minds will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near London, than in this isle ; because so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many that I am really so free as before this treaty begins I expect to be. And so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration.

And thus I have not only fully accepted of the treaty which you have proposed to me by your votes of the third of this month ; but also given it all the furtherance that lies in me, by demanding the necessary means for the effectual performance thereof. All which are so necessarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in, your votes, as I can no ways doubt of your ready compliance with me herein. I have now no more to say, but to conjure you by all that is dear to christians, honest men, or good patriots, that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hastening down your commissioners

missioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace so to bless our endeavours, that all my dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

CHARLES R.

XXXVI. *From Carisbrook, Aug. 28, 1648. For some of his council and others to attend him at the treaty. For the Earl of Manchester, speaker of the house of peers pro tempore, and William Lenthall, speaker of the house of commons.*

MY Lord, and master speaker, I have received your letter of the twenty fifth of this month, with the votes that you sent me: which though they are not so full as I could have wished for the perfecting of a treaty; yet because I conceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one, such is my incessant and earnest desire to give a peace to these my now-distracted kingdoms, as I accept the treaty; and therefore desire that such five lords and ten commons as my two houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authorized and instructed to treat with me, not doubting but what is now wanting, will, at our meeting, upon debate be fully supplied, not only to the furtherance of this treaty, but also to the consummating of a safe and well-grounded peace. So I rest,
Your good friend,

CHARLES R.

Here is inclosed a list of the names of such persons as I desire.

Gentlemen of my bed-chamber, Duke Richmond, Marquis Hertford, Earl Lindsay, Earl Southampton.—Grooms of my bed-chamber, George Kirk, James Leviston, Henry Murry, John Ashburnham, William Leg.—Thomas Davise, Barber.—Pages of my back-stairs, Hugh Henne, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett.—Rives, Yeoman of my robes. Querries, with four or five of my footmen, as they find fittest to wait, Sir Edward Sidenham, Robert Terwit,

wit, Jo. Houfden.—Mrs Wheeler, *Laundress, with such Maids as ſhe ſhall chooſe.*—Parſons, *a Groom of the Preſence.*—Sir Fulk Grevil, captain Titus, capt. John Burroughs, Mr. Creſſet, — Hanſted, Abraham Douſet, Henry Firebrace, *to wait as they did, or as I ſhall appoint them.*—Biſhop of London, Biſhop of Sarum, Dr Shelden, Dr Hammond, Dr Holdſworth, Dr Sanderſon, Dr Turner, Dr Heywood—*Lawyers*, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Robert Holburn, Mr Geffery Palmer, Mr Thomas Cooke, Mr James Vaughan.—*Clerks and Writers*, Sir Edward Walker, Mr Philip Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whitaker.—*To make ready the Houſe for Treaty*, Peter Newton, Clem. Kimerſley. I deſire in order to one of your votes, that you would ſend me a free paſs for Parſons, one of the grooms of my preſence chamber, to go into Scotland, and that you would immediately ſend him to me, to receive the diſpatch thither.

XXXVII. *From Carisbrook, Sept. 7, 1648, concerning the time of the treaty, and the ſending ſome other civil lawyers and divines. For the Lord Hunſdon, ſpeaker of the houſe of peers pro tempore, and William Lenthall, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.*

MY Lord, and maſter ſpeaker, I have received your letter of the ſecond of this month, containing the names of thoſe who are to treat with me; and though they do not come at the time appointed, I ſhall not wonder, at firſt judging it too ſhort in reſpect of my two houſes, not of myſelf, ſo that I did not imagine it could be kept, (as I then commanded Sir Peter Killigrew to tell you by word of mouth :) and therefore it ſhall be far from me to take exceptions for their having elapſed the appointed time; for God forbid that either my two houſes, or I ſhould carp at circumſtances to give the leaſt impediment to this treaty, much leſs to hinder the happy finiſhing of it. I ſay this the rather, becauſe I know not how it is poſſible (in this I ſhall wiſh to be deceived) that in forty days treaty the many diſtractions of theſe kingdoms can

can be settled ; and if so, it were more than strange that time enough should not be given for the perfecting of this most good and great work, which as I will not believe can be stuck on by the two houses, so I am sure it shall never be by your good friend,

Carisbrook, 7 Sept. 1648.

CHARLES R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this treaty there will be need of civil lawyers, I have sent for my advocate Rives and Dr Duck.

[*And afterwards, in a letter of one of the commissioners for the two houses, he sent inclosed this note, Nov. 2.*]

C. R.

The bishop of Armagh, the bishop of Excester, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Worcester, Dr Ferne, Dr Morley.

XXXVIII. *From Newport, Sept. 29, 1648. Containing his concessions.*

HIS majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personal treaty, which he hoped might have been obtained at Westminster, between him and his two houses of parliament immediately : yet they having made choice of this way by you their commissioners, his majesty did gladly and chearfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit means to begin a treaty for peace, which might put an end to his own sad condition, and the miseries of his kingdom : for an entrance whereunto, his majesty hath already expressed his consent to the first proposition. But finding you are limited by instructions which you have no warrant to communicate unto him, and having cause by your paper of the twentieth of this present, to believe that you have no power to omit or alter any thing, though he shall give you such reasons as may satisfy you so to do, without transmitting the papers to the two houses at a far distance, where his majesty's reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time allotted for the treaty here ; and having lately received another paper concerning the church,

containing

containing in itself many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers ordinances, articles of religion, and other things (eleven or twelve in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to his majesty, the due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require his majesty's presence with his two houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters of so high consequence: to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by God's blessing) proceed more speedily and effectually to an happy conclusion, and that his two houses of parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction, his majesty, upon consideration had of yours, makes these propositions following:

Concerning the church, his majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines at Westminster, be confirmed for three years by act parliament.

And will by act of parliament confirm for three years the directory for the public worship of God in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and dominion of Wales.

And will likewise confirm for three years by act of parliament the form of church-government which ye have presented to him, to be used for the churches of England and Ireland, and dominion of Wales: provided that his majesty and those of his judgment, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same government or form of worship, but have free practice of their own profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the assembly of divines at Westminster in the mean time (twenty of his majesty's nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his majesty and his two houses of parliament, how the said church-government and form of public worship after the said time may be settled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed: and how also reformation of religion may be settled within the kingdoms of England and Ireland,
and

and the dominion of Wales. And the articles of christian religion now delivered to him may in like manner be then considered of and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender consciences.

And concerning the bishops lands and revenues, his majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of his subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of money upon security and engagement of those lands; his majesty, for their satisfaction, will consent to an act or acts of parliament, whereby legal estates for lives or for years (at their choice,) not exceeding 99 years, shall be made of those lands, towards the satisfaction of the said purchasers, contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old rents, or some other moderate rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such leases shall not satisfy, his majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction.

Provided that the property and inheritance of those lands may still remain and continue to the church and church-men respectively, according to the pious intentions of the donors and founders thereof; and the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His majesty will give his royal assent for the better observation of the Lord's-day, for suppressing of innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancement of the preaching of God's holy word in all parts of this kingdom; and to an act against enjoying pluralities of benefices by spiritual persons, and non-residency: and to an act for regulating and reforming both universities, and the colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eton.

His majesty will consent to an act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of popish recusants, as is desired in your propositions; and also to an act for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion.

As also to an act for the true levying of the penalties against

against papists, to be levied and disposed in such manner as both houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on his majesty's behalf.

As also to an act to prevent the practices of papists against the state, and for putting the laws in execution; and for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of mass. But as to the covenant, his majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that he can either sign or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others: nor doth he conceive it proper or useful at this time to be insisted on.

Touching the militia, his majesty conceives that your proposition demands a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects than hath ever hitherto been warranted by the laws and statutes of this realm; yet considering the present distractions require more, and trusting in his two houses of parliament that they will make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers settled, than shall be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, or just necessity shall require, his majesty will consent to an act of parliament;

That the lords and commons in the parliament of England now assembled, or hereafter to be assembled, or such as they shall appoint, during the space of ten years, shall arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained or disciplined, all the forces of the kingdoms of England and Ireland and dominion of Wales, the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, already raised both for sea and land service; and shall from time to time during the space of ten years raise, levy, arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, trained, and disciplined any other forces for land and sea service in the kingdoms, dominions, and places aforesaid, as in their judgments they shall from time to time during the said space of ten years think fit to appoint; and that neither the king, his heirs or successors, or any other but such as shall act by the authority or approbation of the said lords and commons, shall, during the said space of ten years, exercise any of the powers aforesaid: That

That monies be raised and levied for the maintenance and use of the said forces for land-service, and of the navy and forces for sea-service, in such sort and by such ways and means as the said lords and commons shall from time to time, during the said space of ten years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwise :

That all the said forces both for land and sea service so raised or levied, or to be raised or levied, and also the admiralty and navy, shall from time to time during the said space of ten years be employed, managed, ordered and disposed by the lords and commons in such sort and by such ways and means as they shall think fit and appoint, and not otherwise.

And the said lords and commons, or such as they shall appoint, during the said space of ten years shall have power,

1. To suppress all forces raised or to be raised without authority and consent of the said lords and commons, to the disturbance of the publick peace of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or any of them.

2. To suppress any foreign forces who shall invade or endeavour to invade the kingdoms of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or any of them.

And after the expiration of the said ten years, neither the king, his heirs or successors, or any person or persons by colour or pretence of any commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the king, his heirs or successors, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said lords and commons, raise, arm, train, discipline, employ, order, manage, disband, or dispose any of the forces by sea or land, of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, isles of Guernsey and Jersey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed ; nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expressed to be during the space of ten years in the
said

said lords and commons : nor do any act or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said lords and commons first had and obtained :

And with the same provisos for saving the ordinary legal power of officers of justice, not being military officers, as is set down in your propositions ;

And with a declaration, that if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together in a warlike manner or otherwise, to the number of thirty persons, and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said lords and commons, or command from them, or any by them specially authorised for that purpose, then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high treason, being first declared guilty of such offence by the said lords and commons, any commission under the great seal or other warrant to the contrary notwithstanding : and he or they that shall so offend herein to be incapable of any pardon from his majesty, his heirs or successors.

And likewise that it be provided that the city of London shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raising and employing the forces of that city in such sort as is mentioned in the said proposition.

With these provisos following to be inserted in the said act.

First, that none be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of coming in of strange enemies into this kingdom.

And that the powers above-mentioned, as concerning the land forces, other than for keeping up and maintenance of forts and garrisons, and the keeping up, maintaining, and pay of this present army so long as it shall be thought fit by both houses of parliament, be exercised to no other purposes than for the suppressing of forces raised or to be raised without authority and consent of the said lords and commons as aforesaid, or for suppressing of any foreign forces which shall invade or endeavour to invade the kingdoms, dominions, or places aforesaid.

And

And that the monies be raised by general and equal taxations, saving that tonnage and poundage, and such imposts as have been applied to the navy, be raised as hath been usual.

And that all patents, commissions, and other acts concerning the premises, be made and acted in his majesty's name by warrant, signified by the lords and commons, or such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

If it shall be more satisfactory to his two houses to have the militia and powers thereupon depending during the whole time of his majesty's reign, rather than for the space of ten years, his majesty gives them the election.

Touching Ireland, his majesty having in the two preceding propositions given his consent concerning the church and the militia there in all things as in England; as to all other matters relating to that kingdom, after advice with his two houses, he will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, his majesty will give his consent to such an act for raising of monies by general and equal taxations, for the payment and satisfying the arrears of the army, publick debts and engagements of the kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both houses of parliament; and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve months after the passing of an act for the same.

His majesty will consent to an act, that during the said space of ten years the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, commissioners of the great seal, or treasury, lord warden of the cinque-ports, chancellor of the exchequer and dutchy, secretaries of state, master of the rolls, judges of both benches, and barons of the exchequer of England, be nominated by both houses of the parliament of England, to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint*; and in the intervals of parliament, by such others as they shall authorize for that purpose.

His majesty will consent that the militia of the city

of London and liberties thereof, during the space of ten years, may be in the ordering and government of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons in the common council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint (whereof the lord mayor and sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be employed and directed from time to time, during the said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be agreed upon and appointed by both houses of parliament; and that no citizen of the city of London, nor any of the officers of the said city shall be drawn forth, or compelled to go out of the said city or liberties thereof, for military service, without their own free consent.

That an act be passed for granting and confirming the charters, customs, liberties, and franchises of the city of London, notwithstanding any *nonuser*, *misuser*, or *abuser*. And that during the said ten years, the tower of London may be in the government of the city of London, and the chief officer and governor from time to time during the said space to be nominated, and removeable by the common council, as are desired in your propositions.

His majesty having thus far expressed his consent for the present satisfaction and security of his two houses of parliament, and those that have adhered unto them, touching your four first propositions, and other the particulars before specified; as to all the rest of your propositions delivered to him at Hampton-court, (not referring to those heads) and to that of the court of wards since delivered, as also to the remaining propositions concerning Ireland, his majesty desires only, when he shall come to Westminster, personally to advise with his two houses, and to deliver his opinion, and the reasons of it; which being done, he will leave the whole matter of those remaining propositions to the determination of his two houses, which shall prevail with him for his consent accordingly.

And his majesty doth (for his own particular) only propose that he may have liberty to repair forthwith to Westminster, and be restored to a condition of absolute

absolute freedom and safety, (a thing which he shall never deny to any of his subjects) and to the possession of his lands and revenues; and that an act of oblivion and indemnity may pass, to extend to all persons for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences; which being agreed by his two houses of parliament, his majesty will be ready to make these his concessions binding, by giving them the force of laws by his royal assent.

His Majesty's letter to the Marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, from Oxford, April 13, 1646.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and entirely-beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. Having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious messages to the two houses of parliament, wherein we have offered them all they have heretofore desired, and desire from them nothing but what they themselves (since these unhappy wars) have offered, to procure our personal treaty with them for a safe and well-grounded peace; and having, instead of a dutiful and peaceable return to our said messages, received either no answer at all, or such as argues nothing will satisfy them but the ruin, not only of us, our posterity and friends, but even of monarchy itself; and having lately received very good security that we, and all that do or shall adhere to us, shall be safe in our persons, honours, and consciences, in the Scottish army, and that they shall really and effectually join with us, and with such as will come in unto us, and join with them for our preservation, and shall employ their armies and forces to assist us to the procuring of an happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of us and our kingdoms, in the recovery of our just right: we have resolved to put ourselves to the hazard of passing into the Scots army now lying before Newark; and if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour, with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces under the marquis of Montrose, and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure, if it may be, an honourable and speedy peace with those who have hitherto refused to give ear

to any means tending thereunto. Of which our resolution we held it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfy you, and our council and loyal subjects with you (to whom we will that you communicate these our letters) that failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by treaty to put an end to the miseries of these kingdoms, we esteemed ourself obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve our crown and friends from the usurpation and tyranny of those whose actions declare so manifestly their designs to overthrow the laws and happy established government of this kingdom. And now we have made known to you our resolution, we recommend to your special care the disposing and managing of our affairs on that side, as you shall conceive most for our honour and service; being confident the course we have taken (though with some hazard to our person) will have a good influence on that our kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the rebels transporting of forces from them into that kingdom. And we desire you to satisfy all our well-affected subjects on that side, of our princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect as soon as God shall enable us. We desire you to use some means to let us and our council at Oxon hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal endeavours.

Given at our court at Oxon, the 13. of April, 1646.

By his majesty's command, Edward Nicholas.

His Majesty's Letter to the City of London.

From Newcastle, May 19, 1646. For our right trusty and well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of our city of London.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Having expressed our resolution to the two houses of our parliament of England, and the committee of estates of our parliament of Scotland, to give all just satisfaction to the joint desires of both kingdoms, we have now likewise thought fit to assure the two chief cities of both our kingdoms, that nothing is more grievous to us than the trouble and distractions of our people,

ple, and that nothing on earth is more desired by us, than that in religion and peace, with all the comfortable fruits of both, they may henceforth live under us in all godliness and honesty. And this profession we make for no other end, but that you may know immediately from ourselves our integrity and full resolution to comply with our parliaments in every thing for settling truth and peace, and our desire to have all things speedily concluded which shall be found requisite for that end; that our return to that our ancient city may be to the satisfaction of our parliament, the good liking of you and all our good people, and to our own greater joy and comfort. We bid you heartily farewell. From Newcastle, the 19th of May, 1646.

His majesty's letter to the Marquis of Ormond, Lord lieutenant of Ireland, from Newcastle, June 11, 1646.

CHARLES R.

Right trusty and entirely-beloved cousin and counsellor, we greet you well. Having long with much grief looked upon the sad condition our kingdom of Ireland hath been in these divers years through the wicked and desperate rebellion there, and the bloody effects have ensued thereupon, for the settling whereof we would have wholly applied ourselves, if the difference between us and our subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn us; and not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them; we were necessitated, for the present safety of our protestant subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them upon such pious, honourable, and safe grounds, as the good of that our kingdom did then require: but for many reasons, too long for a letter, we think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the rebels; nor to engage us upon any conditions with them after fight hereof. And having formerly found such real proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, we doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service and the good of our protestant subjects in Ireland is so much concerned.

From Newcastle, June 11, 1646.

His

His Majesty's declaration and profession, disavowing any preparations in him to levy war against his two houses of parliament, 1647.

CHARLES R.

THERE having been many rumours spread, and informations given, which may have induced many to believe that we intend to make war against our parliament : we profess before God, and declare to all the world, that we always have, and do abhor all such designs ; and desire all our nobility and commons who are here upon the place, to declare, whether they have not been witnesses of our frequent and earnest declarations and professions to this purpose ; whether they see any colour of preparations or counsels that might reasonably beget a belief of any such design ; and whether they be not fully persuaded that we have no such intention ; but that all our endeavours (according to our many professions) tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true protestant religion, the just privileges of parliaments, the liberty of the subject, the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom.

His Majesty's declaration at the isle of Wight, November 19, 1647.

CHARLES R.

HIS majesty doth declare, that he came from Hampton-court for no other cause but for the preservation of his person, which was (as he apprehended) in such danger, that he could not with safety continue longer there : that if he could have been there with safety, he would not have departed thence, nor from the army : and that he chose this place rather than any other (when he was at liberty to have gone whither he pleased) that he might still continue under the protection of the army (colonel Hammond being a member thereof) and that he might have conveniency of free intercourse between himself and the parliament for the settlement of a general peace, to which he professes a very great inclination and desire, and that there shall be nothing wanting on his part that may be reasonably expected from him. And his majesty doth further declare, that in case these gentlemen

gentlemen be taken from him and punished as evil doers for counselling him not to go out of the kingdom, but rather to come to the place where he now is, for the ends aforesaid, and for their endeavouring accordingly in attending him hither; he cannot but himself expect to be dealt with accordingly, his case being the same.

Carisbrook-castle, November 19, 1647.

His Majesty's letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, from Carisbrook, November 26. 1647.

For Sir Thomas Fairfax general.

CHARLES R.

HAVING left order at our remove from Hampton-court, that a copy should be given you of what we had then written to both houses of parliament touching the causes of our withdrawing, and the continuance of our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief interests, that so a happy peace may be settled in our dominions; in pursuance whereof we have lately sent a message to both houses from this place, and a copy of it to you; and being desirous, in order to that blessed work, to give you our present sense upon the condition of affairs as they now stand; we have thought fit to appoint Sir John Barkley to repair unto you, and to communicate the same to you: and we shall be glad by him to receive a mutual communication of your sense also upon this subject; not doubting but you easily perceive, by the late disorders, into what a depth of confusion the army and the nation will fall, if timely and effectual preventions be not used. And therefore we have now again proposed (as the only expedient) a personal treaty, for the composing of all differences, and fulfilling the desires of all interests; to which if you will employ your credit, as you cannot but expect the blessings of God upon your endeavours therein, so you may justly look for the best return that ever our condition shall be able to make you. Given at Carisbrook castle, the 26th day of November 1647.

HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATIONS.

I. *His Majesty's Declaration after the votes of no further address.* Carisbrook, Jan. 18, 1647.

To all my people, of whatsoever nation, quality or condition.

AM I thus laid aside? and must I not speak for myself? no: I will speak, and that to all my people, (which I would have rather done by the way of my two houses of parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addressees to or receive messages from me.) And who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt me and my two houses? I know none else: for I am sure you it is who will enjoy the happiness, or feel the misery of good or ill government; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you, without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular interests. And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am and have been in this long time, and whether my actions have more tended to the publick or my own particular good. For whosoever will look upon me barely as I am a man, without that liberty (which the meanest of my subjects enjoys) of going whither and conversing with whom I will; as a husband and father, without the comfort of my wife and children; or lastly, as a king, without the least shew of authority or power to protect my distressed subjects; must conclude me not only void of all natural affection, but also to want common understanding, if I should not most chearfully embrace the readiest way to the settlement of these distracted kingdoms. As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the bills lately presented unto me, and as they are the conditions of a treaty, ye will conclude, that the same spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all my sincere and constant endeavours for peace, hath had a powerful influence on this message: for though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet, as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding my conscience and honour, and betraying the trust reposed in me, by abandoning

doing my people to the arbitrary and unlimited power of the two houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of land or sea forces, without distinction of quality, or limitation for money-taxes. And if I could have passed them in terms, how unheard of a condition were it for a treaty to grant beforehand the most considerable part of the subject matter? how ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? so, consequently, how hopeless of mutual compliance? without which a settlement is impossible. Besides, if after my concessions the two houses should insist on those things from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the condition of these kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectual? being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in conscience, honour, or prudence, pass those four bills; I only endeavoured to make the reasons and justice of my denial appear to all the world, as they do to me, intending to give as little dissatisfaction to the two houses of parliament (without betraying my own cause) as the matter would bear: I was desirous to give my answer of the 28th of December last to the commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore; and sometimes at the desire of the commissioners) chiefly, because when my messages or answers were publickly known before they were read in the houses, prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my meaning. For example, my answer from Hampton-court was accused of dividing the two nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to the Scots in all things concerning that kingdom: and this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making me intend to interest Scotland in the laws of this kingdom, (than which nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) because I took notice of the Scots commissioners protesting against the bills and propositions, as contrary to the interests and engagements of the two kingdoms. Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent, an objection, not without some probability, might have been made against me, both in respect the Scots are much concerned in the bill for the militia, and

in several other propositions; and my silence might, with some justice, have seemed to approve of it: but the commissioners refusing to receive my answer sealed, I, (upon the engagement of their and the governor's honour, that no other use should be made or notice taken of it than as if it had not been seen) read and delivered it open unto them; whereupon what hath since passed, either by the governor, in discharging most of my servants, redoubling the guards, and restraining me of my former liberty, (and all this, as himself confessed, merely out of his own dislike of my answer, notwithstanding his before-said engagement) or afterwards by the two houses, (as the governor affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this castle, I appeal to God and the world, whether my said answer deserved the reply of such proceedings; besides the unlawfulness for subjects to imprison their king. That by the permission of Almighty God I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God will in due time convert these afflictions into my advantage. In the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience, and a great equality of mind. But by what means or occasion I am come to this relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek; especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my two houses of parliament, for the peace of the kingdom, all but what is much more dear to me than my life, my conscience and honour; desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, a personal treaty. But that which makes me most at a loss, is the remembering my signal compliance with the army and their interests: and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often-repeated professions and engagements for my just rights in general, at Newmarket and St Albans, and their particular explanation of those generals by their voted and re-voted proposals, which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would be expected from me, and that in some things therein I should be eased; (herein appealing to the consciences of some of the chiefest officers in the army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or my professi-

ons to them, I challenge them and the whole world to produce the least colour of reason. And now I would know what it is that is desired. Is it peace? I have shewed the way, (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chief interests. Is it plenty and happiness? they are the inseparable effects of peace. Is it security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like me, have offered the militia for my time. Is it liberty of conscience? he who wants it is most ready to give it. Is it the right administration of justice? officers of trust are committed to the choice of my two houses of parliament. Is it frequent parliaments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith. Is it the arrears of the army? upon a settlement they will certainly be paid with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility, in it. Thus all the world cannot but see my real and unwearied endeavours for peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor ever be slackened in, notwithstanding my past, present, or future sufferings: but if I may not be heard, let every one judge who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do. What is it that men are afraid to hear from me? it cannot be reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it:) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable discourses; for thereby, peradventure, I might more justify this my restraint than the causers themselves can do: so that of all wonders yet this is the greatest to me. But it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern who have used me thus. And if it be my hard fate to fall together with the liberty of this kingdom, I shall not blush for myself, but much lament the future miseries of my people, the which I shall still pray to God to avert, whatever becomes of me.

CHARLES R.

An answer to a pamphlet entitled, "A declaration of the commons of England in parliament assembled, expressing their reasons and grounds of passing the late resolutions touching no farther address or application to be made to the king." Published by his majesty's appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of until now, that heavy imputations were laid on any man, (I speak

not now of kings, which I confess makes the case yet more strange and unjust) and he not permitted to see, much less to answer them: but so it is now with the king; which does (though silently, yet) subject him to as great an imputation as there is any in the said declaration; for those who know no better, may think that he cannot, because he does not, answer it. Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing these things better than every ordinary man) to do my best that the king should not be injured by the ignorance of his people: and albeit I (lying under persecution for my conscience and love to regal authority) have not the means in every thing to make full probations; yet I am confident in all the most material points so to make the truth of the king's innocence appear, that I shall satisfy any impartial judicious reader.—What the issue of former addresses to the king hath been is most certainly known to all the world; but where the fault rests whereby peace hath not ensued, bare asseverations without proofs cannot, I am sure, satisfy any judicious reader. And indeed it seems to me, that the penner of this seeks more to take the ears of the ignorant multitude with big words and bold assertions, than to satisfy rational men with real proofs or true arguments. For at the very first he begs the question, taking it for granted that the king could ease the sighs and groans, dry the tears, and stanch the blood of his distressed subjects. Alas! is it he that keeps armies on foot when there is none to oppose? is it he that will not lay down excise-taxations and free-quarterings? but it is he indeed who was so far from power, even at that time, (being far worse since) that in most things he wanted the liberty of any free-born man: it is he who never refused to ease his people of their grievances; witness more acts of grace passed in his reign, than (to speak within my compass) in any five kings or queens times that ever were before him: moreover, it is he who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personal treaty, hath offered so much, that (to say truth) during his own time he hath left himself little more than the title of a king; as it plainly appears by his message from the isle of Wight, concerning the militia, and choosing the officers of state
and

and privy-counsellors, besides other points of compliance, which it is needless here to mention. Good God ! are these “ offers unfit for them to receive ? have they “ tendered such propositions, that might occasion the “ world to judge, that they have yielded up not only “ their wills and affections, but their reasons also and “ judgments, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation ” ? it is true, that if they can shew what reasonably they could have asked more, or wherein the king’s offers were deficient (either in point of security, or by with-holding from any of his subjects a jot of their just privileges) then they said somewhat to challenge belief : but bare asseverations, even against what a man sees, will not get credit with any but such who abandon their judgments to an implicit faith : nor can the determinations of all the parliaments in the world make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so of itself. And can it be imagined, that any who were ever acquainted with the passages at the treaties of Oxford and Uxbridge will believe (though it be said) that “ the propositions “ tendered at Newcastle were the same in effect which “ had been presented to the king before, in the midst “ of all his strength and forces ” ? indeed methinks such gross slips as these should at least make a man be wary how to believe such things for which he sees no proofs : and yet it should seem that a man must either take their words for good payment, or remain unsatisfied ; for a little after it is said “ that the king’s strange, unexpected, “ and conditional answers or denials might justly have “ made them consider some other course for settling the “ kingdom in peace and safety, without any further “ application ” ; but never shewn wherein the strangeness of his answers or denials consists. And I should think that those reasons upon which the laying by of a king’s authority is grounded (for it is no less) ought to be particularly mentioned for the world’s satisfaction, and not involved in general big words : for it thereby seems that it is their force of arms, more than that of reason, which they trust to, for procuring of obedience to their determinations, or belief to what they say : otherwise, can it be imagined, that their saying, that “ their last propositions were so qualified, that (where it “ might

“ might stand with the public safety) the wonted scruples
“ and objections were prevented or removed,” can give
satisfaction to any rational man, who hath seen all their
former propositions ? for it is most evident that their
demands have always encreased with their good for-
tune. And for their great condescension to a personal
treaty (which, under favour, can scarcely be called so ;
for the king, though he had granted what was desired,
was not to come either to or near London, but to stay
in the isle of Wight, and there to treat with commissio-
ners) upon signing the four bills ; surely they incurred
therein but little danger : for it is most evident, that
they contain the very substance of the most essential
parts of their demands ; which being once granted, the
king would neither have had power to deny, nor any
thing left worth the refusing : for after he had confes-
sed that he had taken up arms to invade the liberty of
his people, (whereas it was only for the defence of his
own rights) and had likewise condemned all those who
had faithfully served him, of rebellion ; and that he
had totally divested himself, his heirs and successors
for ever, of the power of the sword, whereby the pro-
tection of his subjects (which is one of the most essen-
tial and necessary rights belonging to regal authority)
is totally torn away from the crown ; and that by a
silent confession he had done himself and successors an
irreparable prejudice concerning the great seal (I speak
not of the other two bills, neither of which are of little
importance) what was there more for him to grant
(worth the insisting upon) after such concessions ? or,
indeed, what power was left him to deny any thing ? so
that the king's necessity of giving the answer he did (for
it was no absolute refusal) is most evident ; unless he
had resolved to have lived in quiet without honour,
and to have given his people peace without safety, by
abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited power
of the two houses for ever, concerning the levying of
land or sea forces, without stinting of numbers or dis-
tinction of persons ; and for payments, to levy such
sums of monies, in such sort, and by such ways and
means, as they shall think fit and appoint. And now
I cannot but ask, is this the militia that the king contends
for ?

for ? or did ever any king of England pretend to or seek for such a power ? surely no : but this is a new militia : and take heed lest this should prove like the Roman prætorian cohorts, that what they did in choosfing and changing emperors, these do not to this government, by moulding and altering it according to their fancies. Now my eagerness to clear this point concerning the four bills had almost made me forget a most material question. I wonder much wherein the danger consists of a personal treaty with the king ever since he was last at Newcastle. Surely he cannot bring forces along with him to awe his two houses of parliament ; and it is as well known that he hath no money to raise an army ; and truly there is as little fear that the eloquence of his tongue should work miracles : but on the contrary, if he were so ill a man as you describe him to be, whatsoever he shall say or write must more prejudice him than you : for let him never flatter himself, it must be clear, not doubtful, reason that can prevail against that great visible prevailing power which now opposes him ; nor do I say it will, but certainly less cannot do it. Where is then the danger ? believe it, reason will hardly maintain those who are afraid of her. After this it is said, that “ they had cause enough to remember, that the king “ sometimes denied to receive their humble petitions ” : but they neither tell where nor when ; which I am most confident they cannot ; but I am certain that the king hath sent divers messages of peace to them, unto which he hath yet had no answer ; namely, his last from Oxford of the 15th January 1645, and all the rest since. As for the fight at Brainford, whosoever will read the collection of the declarations in print upon that subject, will clearly find, that the king hath more reason to complain, that they, under colour of treaty, fought to environ him with their forces, than they for what he then did ; and his retreat was neither for fear nor with shame ; for the appearing of the enemy made him retard, not hasten his orders for retiring, which divers hours before their appearing he had given ; which he did without any loss at all, but (on the contrary) retreated with more arms, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of ordnance (beside good store of ammunition) than he had

had before. And for cruelty, there was not a drop of blood shed but in the heat of the fight, for I saw above five hundred prisoners who (only promising "never after to bear arms against the king") were freely released. Again they seem to have good memories, saying, that "the king once sent them a specious messenger of renewing a treaty, when at the same time his messenger was instructed how to manage that bloody massacre in London, which was then designed by virtue of the king's commission since published." And hath the king sent but one message for the renewing of a treaty? then what was that from Tavestock in August 1644, and (b) five others from Oxford the next year? but indeed this that is here mentioned they knew not how to answer (for at that time they knew not the way of silence) but by this forged accusation against the messenger; who I dare say, knew nothing of that which might have been (at that time) intended for the king's service by some who had more zeal than judgment. But that there was a massacre intended, or that any commission from the king should countenance such a design, is a most notorious slander. As for the king's mentioned letter to the queen, I am confident that any judicious reader will find the gloss made upon it very much wrested. And certainly after-ages will think these times very barbarous, wherein private letters betwixt man and wife are published to open view: and in other countries there is such respect carried to private letters of princes, that (to my knowledge) the last emperor, in the greatest heat of the Bohemian war, having intercepted a packet wherein were private letters to king James of blessed memory (who was then known no great friend to the emperor) from his only daughter, then avowedly the emperor's greatest enemy; yet he sent them to the king, without the least offer of violence to the seals. And now I come to their determination upon the whole matter, what course they have resolved to take with the king: their words are, "but notwithstanding this and other former tenders, we have now received such a denial, that we are in despair of any good by addresses to the king; neither must we be so
(b) 5th, 15th, 26th, 29th December, and 15th January 1645.

"injurious

“injurious to the people in further delaying their settlement, as any more to press his consent to these or any other propositions.” Besides, it is “resolved upon the question, that they will receive no more any message from the king”; and do enjoin, “that no persons do presume to receive or bring any message from the king to both or either houses of parliament, or to any other person.” Thus you see that the king is laid by: but that is not all; for he must neither justify his innocency against calumny, nor is there any way left him to mend any error that he may have committed. Is this a just way of proceeding, when truth, though offered, must not be heard, and that no way must be left to recant an error? and why all this severity? because (as I have already shewn you) the king will not injure his conscience or honour, nor suffer his people to be oppressed; to which they give the term of such a denial, though really it was none. But since they thus seek to hoodwink the people, it is no great wonder that they forbid the king to repent him of those faults which he never committed: and I believe all indifferent men will easily judge of the king's innocency even by their way of accusation: for those who will lay such high crimes to his charge, as the “breach of oaths, vows, protestations, and imprecations,” would not spare to bring their proofs, if they had any. But on the contrary it is known to all the world, that he had not suffered as he has done, if he would have dispensed with that part of his coronation-oath which he made to the clergy; which is no great sign that he makes flight of his engagements: of which it is so universally known that he has been so religiously careful, as I hold it a wrong to his innocency, to seek to clear him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alledged; for malice being once detected, is best answered with neglect and silence. And was there ever greater or more apparent malice, than to offer to put the horrid slander of parricide upon him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a son to his blessed father as any history can make mention of? But indeed the loss of Rochel doth fitly follow; to shew how malice, when it is at the height, is ordinarily accompanied: for there
are

are none but ignorant or forgetful men, who know not, that it was merely the want of assistance from the two houses of parliament (contrary to their publick general engagement) that lost Rochel; and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French occurrences) than that real assistance, which the king, to the uttermost of his power, gave to those of the religion at that time, made the cardinal of Richelieu an irreconcilable enemy to the king. Wherefore I cannot but say, that it is a strange forgetful boldness to charge the king with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are also other things that to any knowing man will rather seem jeers than accusations; as the German horse, and Spanish fleet in the year 1639. But my affection shall not so blind me, as to say that the king never erred: yet, as when a just debt is paid, bonds ought to be cancelled; so grievances, be they never so just, being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as errors. And it is no paradox to affirm that truths this way told are no better than slanders: and such are the catalogue of grievances here enumerated, which when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be. Now as concerning those discourses which mention the beginnings of these troubles, (which are in two several places of this declaration) I will only say this, that what the king did upon those occasions was merely to defend the rights of his crown, which were and are evidently sought to be torn from him. Nor can I acknowledge all those relations to be true, such as "Private levies of men by popish agents, arming of papists in the North, calling in of Danish forces, and the like:" and as for the stale slander of calling up the Northern army, now renewed, it is well known, that the two houses (even at that time) were not so partial to the king, as to have concealed a practice of that kind, if they could have got it sufficiently proved. But if the Irish rebellion can be justly charged upon the king, then I shall not blame any for believing all the rest of the allegations against him: only I protest against all rebels testimony as good proof: it being most certain by experience, that they who make no conscience of rebelling, will make less of lying

ing when it is for their advantage. And it is no little wonder that so grave an assembly as the house of commons should so slightly examine a business of that great weight, as to alledge that the Scots great seal did countenance the Irish rebellion; when I know it can be proved by witnesses without exception, that for many months before, until the now lord chancellor had the keeping of it, there was nothing at all sealed by it. Nor concerning this great point will I only say, that the king is innocent, and bid them prove (which to most accusations is a sufficient answer) but I can prove, that if the king had been obeyed in the Irish affairs before he went last into Scotland, there had been no Irish rebellion: and after it was begun, it had in few months been suppressed, if his directions had been observed. For if the king had been suffered to have performed his engagements to the Irish agents, and had disposed of the discontented Irish army beyond sea (according to his contracts with the French and Spanish ambassadors,) there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no rebellion in Ireland; because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one. Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued which the king proposed (first to the Scots, then to the English parliament) doubtless that rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what he proposed took so little effect, that in many months after there was nothing sent into Ireland but what the king himself sent, assisted by the duke of Richmond, before he came from Scotland, unto sir Robert Steward; which though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir Robert's voluntary testimony given in writing to the parliament commissioners, then attending the king at Stoak. And certainly a greater evidence for constancy in religion there cannot be, than the king shewed in his Irish treaty; for in the time that he most needed assistance, it was in his power to have made that kingdom declare unanimously for him, and have had the whole forces thereof employed in his service, if he would have granted their demand in points of religion, they not insisting on any thing of civil government which his majesty might not have granted without

without prejudice to regal authority ; and this can be clearly proved by the marquis of Ormond's treaties with the Irish, not without very good evidence by some of the king's letters to the queen which were taken at Naseby, that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover the king's detestation of that rebellion, and his rigid firmness to the protestant profession. Nor can I end this point, without remarking with wonder, that men should have so ill memories, as again to renew that old slander of the king's giving passes to divers papists and persons of quality who headed the rebels ; of which he so cleared himself, that he demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, albeit no shew of proof could be produced for that allegation : as is most plainly to be seen in the first book of the collection of all remonstrances, declarations, &c. fol. 69, and 70. Thus having given an particular answer to the most material points in this declaration, the rest are such frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundless calumnies, that contempt is the best answer for them. Yet one thing more I must observe, that they not only endeavour to make fables pass for current coin, but likewise seek to blind mens judgments with false inferences upon some truths. For example, it is true, that " the king hath said in some of his speeches or declarations, That he oweth an account of his actions to none but God alone ; and that the houses of parliament joint or separate have no power either to make or declare any law" : but that this " is a fit foundation for all tyranny," I must utterly deny. Indeed, if it had been said, that " the king without the two houses of parliament could make or declare laws", then there might be some strength in the argument : but before this parliament it was never so much as pretended, that either or both houses without the king could make or declare any law ; and certainly his majesty is not the first (and I hope will not be the last) king of England, that hath not held himself accountable to any earthly power. Besides, it will be found that this his majesty's position is most agreeable to all divine and human laws ; so far it is from being " destructive to a kingdom, or a foundation for tyranny". To conclude, I appeal to

to God and the world, whether it can be paralleled by example, or warranted by justice, that any man should be slandered, yet denied the sight thereof, and so far from being permitted to answer, that if he have erred, there is no way left him to acknowledge or mend it: and yet this is the king's present condition; who is at this time laid aside, because he will not consent that the old fundamental laws of this land be changed, regal power destroyed, nor his people submitted to a new arbitrary tyrannical government.

III. *His majesty's declaration concerning the treaty, and his dislike of the army's proceedings.* Nov. 22, 1648. *Delivered by his majesty to one of his servants at his departure from the isle of Wight, and commanded to be published for satisfaction of all his subjects.*

WHen large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performance, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all mens ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations. Hath not this distracted nation groaned a long time under the burthen of tyranny and oppression? and hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty? and was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which if not stopt will bring an absolute destruction to this nation? and what more speedy way was there to consummate those distractions, than by a personal treaty being agreed upon by my two houses of parliament, and condescended to by me? and I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physick, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious army, who were so audacious as to stile me, in their unparalleled remonstrance, their capital enemy. But let the world judge whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late treaty, and whether I was not as ready to grant as they were to ask; and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious ends more than the welfare of a miserable land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much
revived

revived with the hopes of a happiness from this treaty ? and how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations ? have not I formerly been condemned for yielding too little to my two houses of parliament, and shall I now be condemned for yielding too much ? have I not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and shall I now be condemned for making peace ? have I not formerly ruled like a king, and shall I now be ruled like a slave ? have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear wife and children in peace and quietness, and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace ? have not my subjects formerly obeyed me, and shall I now be obedient to my subjects ? have I not been condemned for evil counsellors, and shall I now be condemned for having no counsel but God ? these are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the less my endeavours are respected : and how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when yourselves know not what to ask ? I refer it to your consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this treaty ; if you find I have not, then let me bear the burthen of the fault ; but if I have given you ample satisfaction, (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the fury of those whose thoughts are filled with blood : though they pretend zeal, yet they are but wolves in sheeps cloathing. I must further declare, that there is nothing can more obstruct the long-hoped-for peace of this nation, then the illegal proceedings of them that presume from servants to become masters, and labour to bring in democracy, and to abolish monarchy. Needs must the total alteration of fundamentals be not only destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves : for they that endeavour to rule by the sword, shall at last fall by it ; for faction is the mother of ruin : and it is the humour of those who are of this weathercock-like disposition, to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will that please them, but only pro tempore ; for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another. Time is the best cure for faction, for it will at length (like a spreading leprosy) infect the whole body of the kingdom, and make it so odious, that at last they

they will hate themselves for love of that, and, like the fish for love of the bait, be caught with the hook. I once more declare to all my loving subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that my thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends, and there was nothing left undone by me that my conscience would permit me to do. And I call God to witness, that I do firmly conceive that the interposition of the army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace which began again to shine in this land: and let the world judge, whether it be expedient for any army to contradict the votes of a kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending laws and liberties, to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the flood-gates of ruin, to overflow this kingdom in a moment. Had this treaty been only mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopped the course of it; but I being importuned by my two houses, and they by most part of the kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of my people are opened so much, that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this treaty. For mine own part, I here protest before the face of heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict me not so much as my people's sufferings; for I know what to trust to already, and they know not. God comfort both them and me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings. And when the malice of mine enemies is spun out to the smallest thread, let them know that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active to advance my sufferings: and mine own soul tells me, that the time will come, when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that barricado themselves against the proceedings of peace: for if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads. I thank my God, I have armed myself against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy fly

fly at me. I have a breast to receive them, and a heart possessed with patience to sustain them: for God is my rock and my shield, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. I will expect the worst; and if any thing happen beyond my expectation, I will give God the glory; for vain is the help of man.

Queries propounded by his majesty, when the army's remonstrance was read unto him at Newport, concerning the intended trial of his majesty.

I. **W**Hether this remonstrance be agreeable to the former declarations of the army: and if not, whether the parliament would make good their votes, that after he had consented to what they desired, he should be in a capacity of honour, freedom, and safety?

II. Whether his acknowledgment of the blood that hath been spilt in the late wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his party?

III. Whether the arguments that he hath used in a free and personal treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactness of any of the conditions, though in manner and form only, might be charged against him, as an act of obstinacy, or wilful persistance in what is alledged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people and the laws of the land, when he hath declared, that his conscience was satisfied concerning divers particulars in the propositions?

IV. Whereas by the letter of the law all persons charged to offend against the law ought to be tried by their peers or equals, what the law is, if the person questioned is without a peer? And if the law (which of itself is but a dead letter) seems to condemn him, by what power shall judgment be given, and who shall give it? or from whence shall the administrators of such judgment derive their power, which may (by the same law) be deemed the supreme power, or authority of magistracy in the kingdom?

HIS MAJESTY'S LETTERS.

I. *To the house of peers, about the reprieve of the Earl of Strafford: sent by the Prince. From White-Hall, May 11. 1641.*

My lords,

I Did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford: but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment; yet so, that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life without further process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me. To which end, as in the first place I by this letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it that of all your house is most dear unto me: so I desire, that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the house of commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both houses of parliament content for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended mercy shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more chearful, in granting your just grievances. But if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *Fiat Justitia*. Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest, Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

White-Hall, May 11, 1641.

C. R.

If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till
Saturday.

VOL. I.

O

II. To

II. To the Queen. Oxford, January 23, 1642-3.

Dear Heart,

Saturday and Sunday last I received two from thee, of the 29th of December, 9th of January, both which gave me such contentment, as thou mayest better judge than I describe: the which that thou mayest the better do, know, I was full three weeks, wanting but one day, without hearing from thee; beside scurvy London news of thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vexed me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars. So now I conjure thee by the affection thou bearest me, not only to judge, but likewise participate with me in the contentment thou hast given me by assuring me of thy health and speedy return. Concerning 45. 31. 7. 4. 132. 300. I will answer thee in thy own words, *Je le remettray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment: in the mean time assure thyself, that I neither have nor will lose any time in that business, and that I have not contented myself with generals. And though I hope shortly to have the happiness of thy company, yet I must tell thee of some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance. I am persecuted concerning places, and all desire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet thou knowest I have no reason to do it. Newark desireth Savil's place, upon condition to leave it when his father dieth; Carenworth the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom or how I please: Digby and Dunsmore for to be captain of the pensioners; Hartford once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be treasurer, or of my bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter, if thou like it, for I absolutely hold Cottington the fittest man for the other. There is one that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean Capel; therefore I desire thy assistance to find somewhat for him before he ask. One place I must fill before I can have thy opinion; it is the master of the wards. I have thought upon Nicholas, being confident that thou wilt not mislike my choice: and if he cannot perform both, Ned Hyde must be secretary, for
indeed

indeed I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire thee not to engage thyself for any. So I rest, eternally thine.

Oxford, 2. Feb. 23. Jan.

C. R.

III. *To the Queen. Oxford, February 13, 1643.*

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; we having had a pleasing false report of thy safe landing at Newcastle, which thine of the 19. Jan. so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company; for indeed I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard: in which thou hast expressed so much love to me, that I confess it is impossible to repay by any thing I can do, much less by words; but my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23d Feb. [23. Jan. 2 Feb.] has bred great discourse in several persons, and of several kinds: as my saying I was persecuted for places, is applied to all and only those that I there name to be suitors; whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as some there mentioned: for I confess 174. 133. are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault with too much kindness to thee (thou mayest easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions. Others press me, as being brought on the stage: but I answer, that having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for our treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it as concerning my part in it; for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done: but

expect no cessation of arms, for the lower house will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs, I thank God that here and in the west they prosper well: as for the north I refer thee to 226. 140. information. So daily expecting and praying for good news from thee. Copy to my wife, February 1643. Oxford 13. Feb. 1643.

IV. To the Queen. Oxford, Mar. 2. 12. 1642.

Dear Heart,

THough ever since Sunday last, I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certain news thereof before yesterday; when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to York. I hope thou expectest not welcome from me in words; but when I shall be wanting in any other way (according to my wit and power) of expressing my love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew me like a monster: and yet when I shall have done my part, I confess that I shall come short of what thou deservest of me. H. 3. 189. e. 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. a. 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. d. 4. g. 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 5. 43. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62. 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. deer. 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. this a. 2. 324. in the mean time 46. 31. 7. 50. e. 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 38. 75. 41. 9. 2. upon 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there were articles of a cessation brought me from London, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction; I am framing articles fit for that purpose; both which, by my next, I mean to send thee. 219. b. 3. 58. 51. 75. 46. 7. 3. 45. 37. 2. 189. 46. 38. 1. g. 1. 173. 131. which I think fit to be done, a. 5. 4. 30. 3. n. 5. d. 3. 46. 31. 8. 10. 2. 32. 18. 64. 7. 3. 45. 31. 9. 66. 46. 32. 19. 41. 25. 48. k. 1. e. 4. 67. 69. 63. I am now confident that 173. is right for my service. Since the taking of Cicester there is nothing of note done of either side; wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others. Only this I assure thee, that the distractions of the rebels

bels are such, that so many fine designs are laid open to us, we know not which first to undertake, but certainly my first and chiefeft care is and shall be to secure thee, and hasten our meeting. So longing to hear from thee, I rest, eternally thine,

C. R.

Oxford 2. 12. March, 1642.

The last I received of thine was dated the 16. 6. Feb. And I believe none of my four last are come to thee. Their dates are 13. 3. 23. 13. 25. 15. Feb. and 20. Feb. or Mar. 2.

V. The Queen to the King. York, March 30, 1643.

My Dear Heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this bearer comes; only I will tell you that the propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution; therefore find some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir Hugh Cholmely is come with a troop of horse to kiss my hands; the rest of his people he left at Scarborough with a ship laden with arms, which the ships of the parliament had taken and brought thither: so she is ours. The rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: we send more forces to drive them out, tho' those we have already at Wetherby are sufficient; but we fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some design; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt. Between this and to-morrow night we shall know the issue of this business, and I will send you an exprefs. I am the more careful to advertise you of what we do, that you and we may find means to have pass-ports, to send: and I wonder that upon the cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety. This shews my love. I understand to-day from London, that they will have no cessation, and that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships and ammunition; and afterwards of the disbanding of the army. Certainly I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason; but I would

the disbanding of the perpetual parliament first, and certainly the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of my own head alone; for generally both those who are for you and against you in this country with an end of it: and I am certain that if you demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, Hull is ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of. And for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your army before there is an end to this perpetual parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into France, not being willing to fall again into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, it will not be well for me in England. Remember what I have written to you in three precedent letters, and be more careful of me than you have been, or at least dissemble it, to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu. The man hastens me, so that I can say no more. York, this 30. of March.

VI. The Queen to the King. York, Apr. 3, 1643.

THIS letter should have gone by a man of Mr Den-
edfsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of
this letter was upon this subject; and therefore by this
man it signifies nothing; but the end was so pleasing
that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know
by Elliot the issue of the business of Tadcaster: since we
had almost lost Scarborough; whilst Cholmely was here,
Brown Bushel would have rendered it up to the parlia-
ment; but Cholmely having had notice of it, is gone
with our forces, and hath re-taken it, and hath desired
to have a lieutenant and forces of ours to put in it, for
which we should take his. He hath also taken two
pinnaces from Hotham, which brought 44 men to put
within Scarborough, 10 pieces of cannon, 4 barrels of
powder, 4 of bullet. This is all our news. Our army
marches to-morrow to put an end to Fairfax's excellen-
cy. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of
April. I have had no news of you since Parsons. 30.
March. 3. April.

VII. *The Queen to the King.* Newark, June 27, 1645.*My Dear heart,*

I Received just now your letter by my lord Savile, who found me ready to go away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two days stop; it is to have Hull and Lincoln. Young Hotham having been put in prison by order of parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260. that he would cast himself into his arms, and that Hull and Lincoln should be rendered. He is gone to his father, and 260. writes for your answer. So that I think I shall go hence Friday or Saturday, and shall go by at Werton, and from thence to Ashby, where we will resolve what way to take; and I will stay there a day; because that the march of the day before will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the enemy marches, all their forces of Nottingham at present being gone to Leicester and Derby, which makes us believe that it is to intercept our passage. As soon as we have resolved, I will send you word. At this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. I leave 2000 foot, and wherewithal to arm 500 more; 20 companies of horse: all this to be under Charles Cavendish, whom the gentlemen of the country have desired me not to carry with me against his will, for he desired extremely not to go. The enemies have left within Nottingham 1000. I carry with me 3000 foot, 30 companies of horse and dragoons, 6 pieces of cannon, and two mortars. Harry Jermyn commands the forces which go with me, as colonel of my guard, and Sir Alexander Lesley the foot under him, and Gerard the horse, and Robin Legg the artillery, and her she-majesty generalissima, and extremely diligent with 150 waggons of baggage to govern in case of a battle. Have a care that no troop of Essex's army incommode us, for I hope that for the rest we shall be strong enough, for at Nottingham we have had the experience, one of our troops having beaten six of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your proclamation or declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extremely disadvantageous for you; for you shew too much fear, and do not

you had resolved upon.— Farewell, my dear heart.
27. June, 1643.

VIII. *The Queen to the King. Bath, Apr. 21. 1644.*

My Dear heart,

FRed. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as far as Adbury, and the estate of my health. Since my coming hither I find myself ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my rheum. I hope that this day's rest will do me good. I go to morrow to Bristol, to send you back the carts; many of them are already returned. My Lord Dillon told me, not directly from you, though he says you approve it, that it was fit I should write a letter to the commissioners of Ireland to this effect, that they ought to desist from those things for the present which they had put in their paper; and to assure them, that when you shall be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment. I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command: therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint; and also that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promise: for I should be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to; and when you have promised it me, I will be confident. I believe also, that to write to my lord Muskery without the rest will be enough, for the letter which I shall write to him shall be with my own hand; and if it be to all your commissioners, it shall be by the secretary. Farewell, my dear heart; I cannot write any more, but that I am absolutely yours.

IX. *To the Earl of Essex at Lestithiel. Liskard, August 6, 1644.*
Essex,

I Have been very willing to believe, that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom which all good men desire, you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you; you have it at this time in your power to redeem your country and the crown, and to oblige your king in the highest

highest degree, (an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour) such an opportunity as perhaps no subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall have. To which there is no more required but that you join with me heartily and really in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aims. Let us do this: and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their king's, their country's, and their own good, we will make them happy (by God's blessing) even against their wills. The only impediment can be want of mutual confidence. I promise it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my letter to Hertford from Evesholm. I hope this will perfect it, when (as here I do) I shall have engaged unto you the word of a king, that you joining with me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your army such eminent marks of my confidence and value, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust amongst you, either in relation to the publick, or yourself, unto whom I shall then be
Liskard, Aug. 6, 1644. Your faithful friend, C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars: but this will admit of no delay,

X. To the Prince Elector. Tavestock, Sept. 17, 1644.

Nephew,

IT being a natural curiosity in me to know the reason of your actions, I had never so much reason as now to desire it. As I wondered at, so as yet I never knew the reason of your journey from York to Holland: but your coming at this time into the kingdom is in all respects much more strange unto me; yet 'tis possible that the latter may interpret the former. And believe me, the consideration of your mother's son is the chief, I may say the only cause of my curiosity: for as to my affairs, your being here in the way you are, is not of that importance as to make me curious to enquire upon your actions. But the great affection I bear my sister, being a sufficient reason for me to desire that all who appertain to her should give a fair account of their actions, makes me now ask you, first upon what invitation you

are come, then the design of your coming: wishing by your answer I may have the same cause and comfort I have heretofore had to be your loving uncle and faithful friend, C. R. Tavestock, Sept. 17. 1644.

XI. *To the Marquis of Ormond. Oxford, December 15, 1644.*

I Am sorry to find by colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, it being likewise most necessary to redress affairs here: wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power; yet I have thought it necessary, for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with my own haed. As for Poinings act, I refer you to my other letter: and for matter of religion, though I have not found it fit to take publick notice of the paper which Brown gave you, yet I must command you to give him, my L. Muskery and Plunket particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their nation in general and they in particular shall have comfort in what they have done. And to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them, (and command you to see it done) that the penal statutes against roman catholicks shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience: and further, that when the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall be restored to my rights, then I will consent to the repeal of them by a law; but all those against appeals to Rome and Præmunire must stand. All this in cypher you must impart to none but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy. So again recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private letter, I rest.

XII. *The Queen to the King.* Paris, January 6. December 27, 1644-5.

Paris, January.

I Have received one of your letters dated from Marleborow of an old date, having received many others more fresh, to which I have made answer. I will say nothing concerning this, but only concerning the affair of Gor. If it be not done, it is time, being very seasonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I understand that the commissioners are arrived at London. I have nothing to say, but that you have a care of your honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guard; for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me and my religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both. But in my opinion religion should be the least thing upon which you should treat: for if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland or any other Catholick prince, for they would believe, you would abandon them after you had served yourself. I have dispatched an express into Scotland to Montros, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I sent to Mr of Lorrain, and into Holl. I lose no time. If I had more of your news, all would go better. Adieu, my dear heart. My Wife, Dec. 27. Jan. 6. 1644-5.

XIII. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Dec. 1644.

Dear heart,

I Know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble to find my reputation, as my life in danger; therefore lest the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels, upon base and unsafe terms, should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy mind from such rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee
my

my grounds, to the end thou mayst the better understand and approve of my ways. Then know (as a certain truth) that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew my real intentions to peace: and likewise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair treaty, the ring-leading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace: first, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are among themselves, as presbyterians against independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. Upon these grounds a treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good success) the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety. Amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably counselable) the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantageous to me. Yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then observe, if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor in case they will treat with no body but myself: so that the conditions save any aspersions of dishonour, and the treating at London the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject.

This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by malicious rumours: and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou mayst make others know as well as thyself this certain truth, that no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do any thing unworthy of thy love.

For the state of my present affairs, I refer thee to

92, concluding (as I did in my last to thee) by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace (and I now add) nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine. Copy to my wife, Dec. 1644. by Tom Elliot.

XIV. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Jan. 1, 1644-5.

Dear heart,

I Receive it as a good augury thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30th Dec. which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account. This day I have dispatched Digby's sec. fully relating the state of our affairs; therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom Elliot went hence; and that the distractions of London were never so great or so likely to bring good effect, as now; lastly, that assistance was never more needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my wife, 1 Jan. 1644, by P. A.

XV. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Jan. 2, 1644-5.

Dear heart,

HAVING deciphered thine which I received yesterday, I was much surprized to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never mist any occasion of sending to thee; and I assure thee, never any dispatch went from either of my secretaries without one from me, when I knew of it. As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general, if there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did nowise acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise, and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation. But thou wilt find that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it. As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble

trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form, not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account by Tom Elliot of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London, which if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble; But if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions before thou hearest the reasons of them from me, thou mayst be often subject to be doubly vexed, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou ledest me withal. And so farewell, Dear heart.

Copy to my wife, $\frac{2}{2}$ Jan. 1645, by $\frac{13}{13}$ P. A.

XVI. Copy to the D. of R.

Richmond,

I Thank you for the account you sent me by this bearer, and have nothing of new to direct you in, but only to remember you, that my going to Westminster is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a treaty with commissioners there or thereabouts, and that you mention the security I ask with my coming to Westminster. And I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the independents and Scots. This bearer will tell you how well our western and northern affociations go on: to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

XVII. To the marquis of Ormond. Oxford, Jan. 7, 1644-5.

Ormond,

UPON the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence might trouble my affairs there. The rebels here have agreed to treat; and most assuredly one of the first and chief articles they will insist on will be, to continue the Irish war; which is a point not popular for me to break on: of which you are to make a double use.

First,

First to hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there, the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwise I may be subject to by refusal of that article, upon any other reason: secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the rebels here clap up a peace with me upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them: which possibly were not counselable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. These I hope are sufficient grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them, that you having once fully engaged to them my word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth shall not make me break it. But not doubting of a peace, I must again remember you to press the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here, and their friends in Scotland: my intention being to draw from thence into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed protestant subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about Cumberland, which will put those northern counties in a brave condition. Wherefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms; and remember that after March it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas. So expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this letter, I rest,

Your most assured constant friend, CHARLES R.

XVIII. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Jan. 9, 1644-5.

Dear heart,

SINCE my last, which was by Talbot, the Scots commissioners have sent to desire me to send a commission to the general assembly in Edinburgh, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to London, and that I may have the more time for the making an handsome negative, I have demanded a passport for Philip Warwick, by whom to return my answer. I for-

got

got in my former to tell thee, that Lenthall the speaker brags that cardinal Mazarin keeps a strict intelligence with him. Though I will not swear that Lenthall says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for Sabrian, I am confident that either he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine. Even now I am advertised from London, that there are three or four lords and eight commons (besides four Scotch commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named Uxbridge for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised, that general Goring prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken 80 of the rebels horse: and upon his advance they have quitted Peterfield and Coudry.

P. S. The settling of religion and the militia are the first to be treated on: and be confident that I will neither quit episcopacy, nor that sword that God hath given into mine hands.

Copy to my wife, 9, 19 Jan. 1644-5. by P. A.

XIX. *The Queen to the King.* Paris, January 17, 27, 1644-5.

MY dear heart, Tom. Elliot two days since hath brought me much joy and sorrow; the first to know the good estate in which you are; the other, the fear that I have that you go to London. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsel, unless it be to hazard your person to save theirs. But thanks be to God, to-day I received one of yours by the ambassador of Portugal, dated in January, which comforted me much, to see that the treaty shall be at Uxbridge. - For the honour of God trust not yourself in the hands of these people; and if ever you go to London before the parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the army. If you consent to this you shall be lost, they having the whole power of the militia, they have done and will do whatsoever they will. I received yesterday letters from the duke of Lorrain, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand men. Dr Goffe, whom I have sent into Hol-
land,

land, shall treat with him in his passage upon this business, and I hope very speedily to send good news of this, as also of the money. Assure yourself, I will be wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life, that is to die by famine, rather than not to send to you. Send me word always by whom you receive my letters, for I write both by the ambassador of Portugal and the resident of France. Above all, have a care not to abandon those who have served you, as well the bishops as the poor catholics. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make use of another to write, not being able to do it; yet myself in cyphers shew to my nephew Rupert, that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reason why I write not to him. I know not how to send great packets. My wife, 17, 27, Jan. 1644-5.

XX. *To my wife.* 14 Jan. 1644-5, by Choquen.

Dear heart,

POOPLY came the 12, 22 Jan. to whose great dispatch though for some days I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse. As I confess it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real as they make shew to thee: for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will shew my diligence; and certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending: wherefore if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know, (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it. And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question. But take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts: and of this is not the proposal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty instance? for seriously of itself, I hold

hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard; thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs. As for the business itself, (I mean the peace of Ireland) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself: only thou mayest in general let the queen regent and ministers there understand, that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really believe. But for God's sake let none know the particulars of my dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal agent (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters (besides expresses) since I came hither, tho' I expected most from Sabran. I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digbie's dispatch, which I have seen, being so full. Yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation: it is this; nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished, as being in a manner equally guilty; but now this last crying blood being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.

XXI. *The Queen to the King.* Paris, March 13, 1644-5.

Paris this 13. of March.

MY dear heart, since my last I have received one of your letters marked 16. by which you signify the receipt of my letters by Pooly, which hath a little surprized me, seeming to me that you write as if I had in my letter something which had displeased you: if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention; I only did believe that it was necessary you should know all. There is one thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew

shew them to any, only to lord Jer. to uncypher them, my head not suffering me to do it myself; but if it please you I will do it, and none in the world shall see them. Be kind to me, or you kill me; I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all. Farewell, my dear heart: behold the mark which you desire to have, to know when I desire any thing in earnest.† And I pray begin to remember what I spake to you concerning Jack Barkly for master of the wards. I am not engaged, nor will not, for the places of L. Per. and others: do you accordingly. 13. March 1644.

XXII. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Jan. 22. 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

Since my last by Choquen I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter. That which is now, is the progress of the treaty, of which these inclosed papers will give thee a full account; but if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other. For the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters, and for my propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last; wherefore I need to say nothing of them: and for my instructions, they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them. Now upon the whole matter, I desire thee to shew the queen and ministers there the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds, that are betwixt the rebels propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means will soon make them be; for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our interferences here at Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, (for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee) untill I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth;

mouth; it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in paper. Copy to my Wife, 22. Jan. 1644.

XXIII. *To the Queen.* Oxford. Jan. 30, 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

Sunday last I received three letters from thee, one a duplicate of the 30. December. another of the 6. Jan. and the last of the 14. Jan. and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last: wherein as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of me, so I must extremely wonder that any who pretend to be a friend to our cause (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any, or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected; it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoke of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance: but I am confident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at; and of this I have more than a bare suspicion. And indeed if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance, at least not giving me so often account of it as I desire; these three last making no mention of thyself. Now as for the treaty (which begins this day) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never make a peace by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety: of which I will say no more, because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me. I send thee herewith my directions to my commissioners: but how I came to make them myself, without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news as well concerning military as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things (only not answering for words) truly shew myself to be eternally thine. The Portugal agent hath made me two propositions: first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50000l. if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain; the other

other is for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter. For the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can; and for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signify nothing. I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris; the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooley (whom I intend for my next messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea. To my Wife, 30. Jan. 1644. 5. by Legge.

Directions for my Uxbridge commissioners.

First, concerning religion.

In this, the government of the church (as I suppose) will be the chief question: wherein two things are to be considered, conscience, and policy. For the first, I must declare unto you, that I cannot yield to the change of the government by bishops: not only as I fully concur with the most general opinion of christians in all ages, as being the best; but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, nor to alter the government of this church from what I found it. And as for the church's patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation oath. But whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying of abuses, if any have crept in, or yet for the ease of tender consciences (so that it endamage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and will be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the second, as the king's duty is to protect the church, so it is the church's to assist the king in the maintenance of his just authority. Wherefore my predecessors have been always careful (and especially since the reformation) to keep the dependency of the clergy intirely upon the crown: without which it will scarcely fit fast upon the king's head. Therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this necessary dependency. Next, concerning the militia. After conscience, this is certainly the fittest subject for a king's quarrel, for without it the kingly power

power is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to be quitted, but to be maintained according to the antient known laws of the land. Yet because (to attain to this so much wished peace by all good men) it is in a manner necessary, that sufficient and real security be given for the performance of what shall be agreed upon, I permit you, either by leaving strong towns or other military force in the rebels possession (until articles be performed) to give such assurance for performance of conditions as you shall judge necessary for to conclude a peace: provided always, that ye take (at least) as great care; by sufficient security, that conditions be performed to me; and to make sure that, the peace once settled, all things shall return into their antient channels. Thirdly, for Ireland. I confess, they have very specious popular arguments to press this point, the gaining of no article more conducing to their ends than this; and I have as much reason, both in honour and policy, to take care how to answer this as any. All the world knows the eminent inevitable necessity which caused me to make the Irish cessation, and there remain yet as strong reasons for the concluding of that peace: wherefore ye must consent to nothing to hinder me therein, until a clear way be shewn me, how my protestant subjects there may probably (at least) defend themselves; and that I shall have no more need to defend my conscience and crown from the injuries of this rebellion.

Oxford, Feb. 1644. Memorials for Secretary Nicholas, concerning the treaty at Uxbridge.

1. For religion and church-government, I will not go one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2. And so for the militia, more than what ye have allowed by me: but even in that you must observe, that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number, Scots and all, be thirty, I will name fifteen. Yet if they (I mean the English rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English; and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3. As for gaining of particular persons, besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed

performed services, not sparing to engage for places, so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but as much profit as you will. With this last you are only to acquaint Richmond, Southampton, Culpepper, and Hide.

XXIV. *To the Queen.* Oxford, 15. 25. Feb. 1644-5.

Dear Heart,

THE expectation of an express from thee (as I find by thine of the 4. Febr.) is very good news to me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes than other that it will produce a peace: but I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy return; for I avow that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article: wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee, that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou so well rememberest: and in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confess in some respects thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London; for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit: of which persuasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee; of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet. And be confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine. Oxford, 15. 25. Feb. 1644-5. C. R.

To my Wife, 15. Feb. 1645. by P. A.

XXV. *To the Marquis of Ormond. Oxford, 16 Feb. 1644.*

Ormond,

I Should wrong my own service, and this gentleman fir Timothy Fetherston, if I did not recommend him and his business to you ; for the particulars of which I refer you to Digby. And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of hastening of the Irish peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by me with materials sufficient : but in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the cessation (according to a postscript in a letter by Jack Barry, a copy of which dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

P. S. In case upon particular mens fancies the Irish peace should not be procured upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needless) to seek to renew the cessation for a year; for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to join with them against the Scots and Inchequin : for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept less, or I be able to grant more.

XXVI. *To the Queen. Oxford, 19. Feb. 1644-5.*

Oxford, 19. Feb. old style.

Dear heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty; only, the unreasonable stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way : wherefore I hope no rumours shall hinder thee from hastening all thou mayest all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of Lorrain's, concerning which I received yesterday good news for Dr Goffe, that the P. of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation; and that the rest of his negotiation goes hopefully on : by which, and many other ways, I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their several kinds) to esteem most. But I will say no more of this, lest thou mayest think that I pretend to do this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life. Though I leave news to others, yet

yet I cannot but tell thee that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose, who upon surprize totally routed those rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of 27. Jan. by the Portugal agent, the only way (but expresse) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee. Indeed Sabrian sent me word yesterday, besides some compliments, of the imbargo of the rebels ships in France (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness) but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding my army before a peace, do noways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee that Hertogen the Irish agent is an arrant knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending pacquets.

To my Wife, 19 Feb. 1645²¹. by P. A.

XXVII. *To the Marquis of Ormond. Oxford, Feb. 27, 1644-5.*

Ormond,

THe impossibility of preserving my protestant subjects in Ireland by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest that the English rebels have (as far as in them lies) given the command of Ireland to the Scots, that their aim is a total subversion of religion and regal power, and that nothing less will content them or purchase peace here; I think myself bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience, nor to lose that

assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects, for such scruples as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me. For their satisfaction, I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, whatever it cost, so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved. But for all this, you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not discover your enlargement of power till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you; yet I cannot but tell you, that if the suspension of Poinings act for such bills as shall be agreed upon between you there, and the present taking away of the penal laws against papists by a law, will do it, I shall not think it a hard bargain; so that freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour. Copy to Ormond, 27 February, 1644-5.

XXVII. *To the Queen. Oxford, Mar. 5, 1644-5.*

Dear Heart,

NOW is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident that I shall find very good effects of it: for besides that my commissioners have offered, to say no more, full-measured reason, and the rebels have stucken rigidly their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them; we have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels) will clearly show, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch rebellions. But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance than hitherto thou hast

hast had. It is, that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholicks in England, as soon as God shall make me able to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us. And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me, even in this; I trusting thee (though it concern religion) as if thou wert a protestant, the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it. I have so fully instructed this bearer Pooley, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee that none hath or shall have any copy of it but myself, to the end thou mayest use it when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but me; and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, the 5. March, 1644-5. by Pooley.

XXIX. *To the Queen.* Oxford, 13 March, old style.

Dear Heart,

WHAT I told thee last week concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed; and now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault. For I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose) but now I promise thee if it be renewed, (which I believe will not, without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the

place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden, by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilnot being already there, Percy on his way, and Suffex within few days taking his journey to thee; but that I know thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences. Yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny but my confidence in thee was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee. I have received thine of the third of March, by which thou puttest me in hope of assistance of men and money; and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that (because of my business) festivals are troublesome to thee: but I see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies: and excuse me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder that mere statesmen should desire to be rid of thee. Therefore I desire thee to think whether it would not advantage thee much to make a personal friendship with the queen regent (without shewing any distrust of her ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her regency comes out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends; so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee: and to say no more, but certainly, if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place, I desire thee to give me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him who is eternally thine. The northern news is rather better than what we first heard; for what by sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Montrose's victories Carlisle and the rest of our northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured: and besides all this, the northern horse are already returned and joyned with my nephew Rupert. To my Wife, 13. March 1644-5. by P. A.

XXX. *To the Queen. Oxford, Thursday, 20 March.*

Dear Heart,

UPon Saturday last, I wrote to thee by Sabran (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health; for though I confess that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt by satisfying me confess the justness of this my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation, (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewsbury: and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland. Likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howsoever I doubt not but, if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses. Petit came yesterday, but he having at London thrust his dispatches in the states ambassadors packets, I have not yet received them; and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good western news, knowing of an opportunity for writing to thee within these three or four days; only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tin-adventure at Calais. And so farewell, sweet heart. Thine of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakest me concerning Ir. for I desire nothing more than a peace there, and never forbid thy commerce there: only I give thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought, and now know to be knaves. To my Wife, 20. of March, 1644-5. by P. A.

XXXI. *To the Queen. Oxford, Thursday 27 March.*

Dear Heart,

I Wrote to thee yesterday by Sakefield, the subject of it was only kindness to thee, which I assure thee, shall ever be visible in all my actions. And now I come to Jermin's account, given me by thy command, which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment in the D. of Lorrain's business (which is his passage) who mayest not thou procure him passage through France? (if that of Holland be stuck at.) It will much facilitate the sea-transportation in respect of landing on the Western coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to chuse on any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction. The general face of my affairs methinks begins to mend, the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest: So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other) I am confident to be in a better condition this year than I have been since this rebellion began, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment unto me. And so farewell, dear heart. I intend (if thou like it) to bestow Percie's place upon the M. of Newcastle; to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him master of wards; for Cottington had it long ago before thou wentest hence, and I intended it to secr. Nich. if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it. I desire thee to command Lo. Jer. to read to thee the D^r letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the D. of Lorrain's army.

To my Wife, 27. Mar. 1645. by P. A.

XXXII. *To the Queen. Oxford, Sunday 30. March.*

Dear heart, since my last (which was but 3 days ago) there are no alterations happened of moment; perparations

preparations rather than actions being yet our chiefest business; in which we hope that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for certain) go on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought even here at Oxford. For instance; a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, shewed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who would not let his name be known until he have hope that his proposition will take effect: it is this, that since the treaty is so broken off, that neither the rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming total yielding to the other, the treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance that the rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted my servant to give was, that thou art much the fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom: but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned, therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels willingness to yield to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee: and particularly concerning religion and the militia, that nothing must be insisted upon, but according to my former offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence. I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the D. of Lorrain's army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelsey near Chichester, and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes. By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, 30 March 1645. by Petit.

XXXIII. *To the Queen.*

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I sent to thee by Pooly. Oxford, Wednesday 9 Apr. 1645.

Dear Heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions of this (which is

now the only) way of conversing with thee is so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news nor publick business from me by this way of conveyance: yet judging thee by myself, even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms. I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with thine, must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? if thou knewest what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions) even in point of conversation, which, in my mind, is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say thou wouldest pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastick. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to business) then 359. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66. Thou mayest easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me. I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou canst with thy letters: and dost not thou think, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest the time, are pleasing subjects to me, though thou hast no other business to write of? believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs. To my Wife, 9. April 1645. by Binion.

XXXIV. *To the Lord Jermin. Oxford, Thursd. 24 April.*

HArry, lest my Wife should not yet be fit for any business, I write this to you, not to excuse my pains, but ease hers: and that she may know, but not be troubled with my kindness, I refer to your discretion how far to impart my letter to her, or any other business, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you, that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to Digby's sanguine complexion (not to be rebated from sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence;

intelligence; for if he should strictly tie himself to certain truths in this kind, you must have nothing from him but my proclamations, or ordinances from the pretended houses. But tell me, can you not distinguish between what we send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an oath the mark of distinction? and are you obliged to publish all the news we send you? seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French court; and certainly there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficulty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon me were in vain; so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any rebels, to keep the balance of dissention amongst us equal. For matter of news and present state of my affairs I refer you to Digby; only this in general, that if it please God to assist us this year but half so miraculous as he did the last (my present state compared with what it was this time twelve-month) I am very hopeful to see a joyful harvest before next winter. Nor do I think this in any human probability possible, except my wife can procure me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to despair, your last giving me good hope concerning Lorrain: and though I say not that for the other I have so good an author as 196. yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149. in hers the 10. of March says, *J'ay une affaire assures, que vous donnerez 40000. pistols, que je vous eussi envoyez si j'eussi lu mon navier revenu avec l'estain.* In the last place, I will impose that upon you that is not reasonable to expect from my wife, which, is to give me a continual account what letters she receives from me, and what miscarry or come slowly: to which end take notice, that all my letters to her are numerarily marked on the top, as, his with 37. and likewise I now begin the same with you. So farewell. In your next let me know particularly how my wife is: which though it be not as I would have it, yet the perfect knowledge will hinder me to imagine her worse than she is: if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded Digby to write to you freely

concerning Will Murry, which I hold to be necessary as concerning Montros's business. To the L. Jermin, 24. April 1645. concerning France.

XXXV. *To the Queen.* Oxford, Sunday, 4 May.

DEAR heart, the rebels new brutish general hath refused to meddle with foreign passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch Adrian May to thee by the way of London: which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West. And now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I would have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my affairs begin to smile upon me again; Wales being well swept of the rebels, Farrington having relieved itself, and now being secured by Goring's coming; my nephews likewise having brought me a strong party of horse and foot, these quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching within three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year, I am likewise very hopeful that my son will shortly be in the head of a good army; for this I have the chearful assurance of Culpepper and Hyde. Of late I have been much pressed to make Southampton master of my horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of re-cozening me; wherein if I had done nothing, both jealousy and discontentments were like to arise: wherefore I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place, which will both save me charge, and stop other mens grumblings. I have now no more to say, but praying for, and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest, eternally thine. To my wife, 4. May 1645. by Malin S. Ravy.

XXXVI. *To the Queen.* Drogheda, Wednesday, 14 May.

DEAR heart, marching takes away the convenience of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee as when I was at Oxford, however I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee. There is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others; only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch from Montros, which assures me his condition to be so good that he bids me be confident that his countrymen shall do

do me no great harm this year; and if I could lend him but 500 horse, he would undertake to bring me 20000 men before the end of this summer. For the general state of my affairs, we all think it to be very hopeful; this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. It is true that I cannot brag of store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders from starving at least; and I believe the rebels coffers are not very full (and certainly we shall make as good shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as what they are; for I assure thee that I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their northern forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them. Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayst suspect I seek by equivocation to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this, he hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenvil may be sworn gentleman of his bed-chamber, but is already so publicly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace both to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the west. Yet I have refused the admitting of him, until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee, first to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then, not to refuse thine own consent; and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of my son's letter. So farewell, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

To my wife, May 14, 1645.

XXXVII. *To the Queen.* Daintry, Sunday, 9 June.

DEAR heart, Oxford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have

expected, which makes me believe that my good news will not be very stale, which in short is this: since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford made the rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before Bostol House: At first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as Brackly, but they are since gone aside to Brickhill, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be; whether by their distractions (which are certainly very great, Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and his men and Cromwel's likewise at blows together, where a captain was slain) or wasting their men I will not say. Besides Goring hath given a great defeat to the western rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars. Wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that since this rebellion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way; though among ourselves we want not our own follies, which is needless, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as am confident shall do no harm, nor much trouble me. Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy letter by Fitzwilliams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindness, which makes me capable of taking contentment in these good successes; for as divers men propose several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazards in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.

To my wife, 9 June, 1645.

XXXVIII. *To Prince Rupert. Caerdiffe, August 3, 1645.*

C. R.

NEphew, this is occasioned by a letter of yours which the duke of Richmond shewed me yesterday. And first I assure you, I have been, and ever will be very careful to advertise you of my resolutions so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoined silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion,

religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice; for I confess that speaking as a mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; yet as a christian I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel: and there is as little question, that a composition with them at this time is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me, for I know my obligation to be, both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience, which obligeth me to continue my endeavours, in not despairing that God may yet in due time avenge his own cause; though I must aver to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect and resolve either to die for a good cause, or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Having this truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken now after treaties, assuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more than was offered in my name at Uxbridge, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle at Naseby. Therefore for God's sake let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits. And believe me, your very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty will but lose me so much the sooner: wherefore as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to my resolution and judgment. As for the Irish I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant

grant to the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nation soever) more than I see by their actions. And I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all honest men; a copy whereof by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you nor myself to the trouble of this long letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship too.

Caerdiffe, August 3, 1645.

C. R.

XXXIX. *To secretary Nicholas. Caerdiffe, Aug. 4, 1645.*

Nicholas,

HAVING commanded your fellow-secretary to give you a full account as well of our proceedings here as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor myself with repetitions. Only for myself, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of fortune whatsoever shall make me, by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were my commissioners at Uxbridge, and which (I thank them) the rebels have published in print. And though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are mine which they have set out in my name, only some words here and there are mistaken, and some commas misplaced, but not much material, nor, as a good protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed as a discreet man I will not justify myself; and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private letters were publicly seen as mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortune: it is concerning the mongrel parliament. The truth is, that Sussex's factiousness at that time put me somewhat out of patience, which made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my wife; and the intencion of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base propositions. This is clearly evidenced by my following excuse to her,

I had not any other way to vent my displeasure but by this means, for I was not allowed to write to you.

her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconveniencies which they had, and were more likely to cause here than there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest,

Your most assured friend, C. R.

XL. For my son the Prince.

Charles,

THIS is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrote fully to your mother what I would have you to do ; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in religion, concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you ; and see that you go not any whither without her or my particular directions. Let me hear often from you ; and so God bless you. Your loving father,

Newcastle, June 2. 1646.

CHARLES R.

If Jack Ashburnham come where you are, command him to wait upon you as he was wont, until I shall send for him, if your mother and you be together ; if not, he must wait on her.

XLI. To the Duke of York. Caversham, July 4. 1649.

C. R.

JAMES, I am in hope that you may be permitted, with your brother and sister, to come to some place betwixt this and London, where I may see you. To this end therefore I command you to ask leave of the two houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two. But rather than not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night. And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the army, as I am, may be objected to hinder this my desire ; I have full assurance from sir Thomas Fairfax and the chief officers, that there will be no interruption or impediment made by them for your return, how and when you please. So God bless you. Your loving father,

Casam, July 4. 1647.

CHARLES R.

P. S. Send me word as soon as you can, of the time and place where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your brother and sister.

XLII.

XLII. *To colonel Whaley. Hampton-court, Nov. 11.*
1647.

Colonel Whaley, I have been so civilly used by you and major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under my hand: as also to desire the continuance of your courtesy, by your protecting of my household-stuff and moveables of all sorts which I leave behind me in this house, that they be neither spoiled nor imbezelled. Only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore: towit, my wife's picture in blue, sitting in a chair, you must send to Mrs Kirk; my eldest daughters picture copied by Belcam, to the countess of Anglesey; and my lady Stanhope's picture to Carey Raleigh. There is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the original of my eldest daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next the chimney) which you must send to my lady Aubigny. So being confident that you wish my preservation and restitution, I rest,

Your friend, CHARLES R.

I assure you it was not the letter you shewed me yesterday that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kind: but I confess that I am loth to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing my life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black grew-bitch to the D. of Richmond.

XLIII. *To the lord Mountague. Hampton-court, Nov.*
11. 1647.

Mountague,

First I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellows thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you. Next I command you to send this my message (which you will find upon this table) to the two houses of parliament, and likewise to give a copy of it to colonel Whaley, to be sent to the general. Likewise I desire you to send all my saddle-horses to my son the Duke of York. As for what concerns the resolution that I have taken, my declaratory message says so much, that I refer you to it; and so I rest.

Your assured friend, CHARLES R.

XLIV. *For Sir Thomas Fairfax, general.*

C. R.

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded us to have the use of our chaplains, makes us at this time not only to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewise now to acquaint you that three of our chaplains, to wit, Dr Shelden, Dr Holdsworth and Dr Haywood, are newly landed in this isle, not doubting but they shall have the same protection that formerly they had; which still will shew the continuation of your good respect unto us, which we upon all fitting occasions shall not be backward to acknowledge. So we bid you heartily farewell. Given at Carisbrook-castle, November 27. 1647.

XLV. *To the lords, gentlemen, and committee of the Scotch parliament, together with the officers of the army. Carisbrook, July 31, 1648.*

My lords and gentlemen,

IT is no small comfort to me, that my native country hath so true a sense of my present condition; as I find expressed by your letter of the eighth of this month and your declaration, both which I received upon Friday last. And the very same reason which makes you discreetly and generously at this time forbear to press any thing to me, hinders me likewise to make any particular professions unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the only secretary to my thoughts. Yet thus much I cannot but say, that as in all human reason nothing but a free personal treaty with me can settle the unhappy distractions of these distressed kingdoms; so if that could once be had, I would not doubt but that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would soon follow: such force (I believe) true reason has in the hearts of all men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed at all times to profess that it hath, and shall be always want of understanding, not of will, if I do not yield to reason, whensoever and from whomsoever I hear it: and it were a strange thing, if reason should be less esteemed because it comes from me; which (truly) I do not expect from you, your de-

declaration seeming to me (and I hope your actions will prove that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon honour and justice, that albeit, by way of opinion, I cannot give a *placet* to every clause in it, yet I am confident upon a calm and friendly debate we shall very well agree. To conclude, I cannot (for the present) better shew my thankfulness to you for the generous and loyal expressions of your affections to me, than by giving you my honest and sincere advice; which is, really and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publick professions in your declaration, as sincere christians and good subjects ought to do, always remembering, that as the best foundation of loyalty is christianity, so true christianity teaches perfect loyalty; for without this reciprocation neither is truly what they pretend to be. But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise, that you will rightly understand this which is affectionately intended by your assured friend,
 Carisbrook, Monday, 31 July, 1648. C. R.

XLVI. *To the Prince.* Newport, November 29, 1648.

SON,

BY what hath been said, you may see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be discouraged to tread those ways in all worthy means to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace. Shew the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with too much of our own right; the price was great, the commodity was, security to us, peace to our people; and we are confident another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty; of how much we have divested ourself, that we and they might meet again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds for prince and people. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of your subjects, (not satisfaction of favourites.) And if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father

to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious unto. You may perceive all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest: and if princes, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an ocean. These considerations may make you a great prince, as your father is now a low one: and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For subjects have learnt (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves, and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly: we are sensible into what hand we are fallen; and yet we bless God we have those inward refreshments that the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learnt to own ourself by retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us, not doubting, but God can restrain our enemies malice, and turn their fierceness unto his praise. To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly, and far from revenge: if he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise keep. Those men which have forced laws which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of trouble. Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the son of our love; and as we direct you to what we have recommended to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural parent) then we do that the antient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatick humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politick parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the christian religion as it was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretations according to the known practices, may once again be an hedge about them, that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

The

The commissioners are gone, the corn is now in the ground, we expect the harvest : if the fruit be peace, we hope the God of peace will in time reduce all to truth and order again : which that he may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

XLVII. *For the King.*

SIR,

HAVING no means to come to the knowledge of your majesty's present condition, but such as I receive from the prints, or (which is as uncertain) report, I have sent this bearer Seamour to wait upon your majesty, and to bring me an account of it : that I may withal assure your majesty, I do not only pray for your majesty, according to my duty, but shall always be ready to do all that which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your majesty upon,

Sir, your majesty's most humble and most obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Hague, January 23, 1648.

HIS MAJESTY'S SPEECHES.

To the lords and commons, at the opening of his first Parliament at Westminster, June 18, 1625.

I Thank God that the business to be treated on at this time is of such a nature, that it needs no eloquence to set it forth ; for I am neither able to do it, neither doth it stand with my nature to spend much time in words. It is no new business, being already happily begun by my father of blessed memory, who is with God ; therefore it needeth no narrative : I hope in God you will go on to maintain it as freely as you advised my father to it. It is true, he may seem to some to have been slack to begin so just and so glorious a work ; but it was his wisdom that made him loth to begin a work, until he might find means to maintain it ; But after that he saw how much he was abused in the confidence he had with other states, and was confirmed by your advice to run the course we are in, with your engagement to maintain it, I need not press to prove
how

how willingly he took your advice ; for the preparations that are made are better able to declare it than I to speak it ; The assistance of those in Germany, the fleet that is ready for action, with the rest of the preparations which I have only followed my father in, do sufficiently prove that he entered into this action. My lords and gentlemen, I hope that you do remember that you were pleased to employ me to advise my father to break off those two treaties that were on foot ; so that I cannot say I came hither a free unengaged man. It is true, I came into this business willingly and freely, like a young man, and consequently rashly : but it was by your interest, your engagement ; So that though it were done like a young man, yet I cannot repent me of it ; and I think none can blame me for it, knowing the love and fidelity you have borne to your king, having myself likewise some little experience of your affections. I pray you remember that this being my first action, and begun by your advice and intreaty, what a great dishonour it were to you and me, if this action so begun should fail for that assistance you are able to give me. Yet knowing the constancy of your love both to me and this business, I needed not to have said this, but only to shew what care and sense I have of your honours and mine own. I must entreat you likewise to consider of the times we are in, how that I must adventure your lives (which I should be loth to do) should I continue you here long ; and you must venture the business, if you be slow in your resolutions. Wherefore I hope you will take such grave counsel, as you will expedite what you have in hand to do, which will do me and yourselves an infinite deal of honour : you, in shewing your love to me ; and me, that I may perfect that work which my father hath so happily begun.

Last of all, because some malicious men may, and, as I hear, have given out, that I am not so true a keeper of the true religion that I profess ; I assure you that I may with Saint Paul say, that I have been trained up at Gamaliel's feet : and although I shall never be so arrogant as to assume unto myself the rest, I shall so far shew the end of it, that all the world may see that none hath been, nor ever shall be, more desirous to maintain

the

the religion I profess than I shall be. Now because I am unfit for much speaking, I mean to bring up the fashion of my predecessors, to have my lord keeper speak for me in most things : therefore I have commanded him to speak something unto you at this time, which is more for formality, than any great matter he hath to say unto you.

II. To the lords and commons in the hall at Christ-church in Oxford, Aug. 4. 1625.

MY Lords, and you of the commons, We all remember that from your desires and advice my father, now with God, brake off those two treaties with Spain that were then in hand. Well, you then foresaw, that as well for regaining my dispossessed brothers inheritance, as home-defence, a war was likely to succeed, and that as your counsels had led my father into it, so your assistance, in a parliamentary way, to pursue it, should not be wanting. That aid you gave him by advice was for succour of his allies, the guarding of Ireland and the home part, supply of munition, preparing and setting forth of his navy. A council you thought of and appointed for the war, and treasurers for issuing of the moneys. And to begin this work of your advice you gave three subsidies and as many fifteens, which with speed were levied, and by directions of that council of war (in which the preparation of this navy was not the least) disbursed. It pleased God at the entrance of this preparation (by your advice begun) to call my father to his mercy, whereby I entered as well to the care of your design as his crown. I did not then, as princes do, of custom and formality re-assemble you, but that by your further advice and aid I might be able to proceed in that which by your counsels my father was engaged in. Your love to me and forwardness to further those affairs you expressed by a grant of two subsidies yet ungathered ; although I must assure you by myself and others upon credit taken up, and beforehand disbursed, and far short as yet to set forth that navy now preparing ; as I have lately the estimate of those of care, and who are still employed about it, whose particular of all expences about this preparation shall be given you when you please to take an account of it.

Another contracted copy of the two foregoing speeches.

[Other Copies having contracted the substance of both these speeches foregoing into one, supposed to be spoken at Westminster at the opening of the parliament, it was thought fit to represent both copies, leaving it to the memory of such as were then present to decide which is the true]

MY lords and gentlemen, you are not ignorant that at your earnest intreaty, the 23d of March sixteen hundred twenty three, my father (of happy memory) first took up arms for the recovery of the Palatinate, for which purpose, by your assistance, he began to form a considerable army, and to prepare a goodly armado and navy royal. But death intervening between him and the atchievement, the war, with the crown, is devolved upon me. To the prosecution whereof as I am obliged both in nature and honour; so I question not but, the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished my father with affectionate supplies; but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an enterprize: for those your donatives are all disbursed to a penny; and I am inforced to summon you hither, to tell you, that neither can the army advance, nor the fleet set forth, without farther aid. Consider, I pray you, the eyes of all Europe are defixed upon me; to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo muster and ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider, it is my first attempt; wherein if I sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future honour. If mine cannot, let your own reputation move you: deliver and expedite me fairly out of this war wherewith you have incumbered (let it never be said, whereinto you have betrayed) me. I desire therefore your speedy supply: speedy I call it, for else it will prove no supply. The sun, you know, is entering into his declining point; so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the mortality now regnant in this city, which should it (as so it may, and no breach of privilege neither) arrest any one member of either house, it soon would put a period both to con-
sult

sultation and session : so that your own periclitation necessitates an early resolution. In sum, three of the best rhetoricians, honour, opportunity, and safety, are all of a plot, and plead, you see, for expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of my religion, as also of the temper and tenor of my future government : but as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either ; so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those principles wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late father.

III. *To the speaker of the house of commons of his second parliament, 1625-6.*

MAFTER speaker, the answer of the commons delivered by you I like well of, and do take it for a full and satisfactory answer, and I thank them for it ; and I hope you will with all expedition take a course for performance thereof, the which will turn to your own good as well as mine. But for your clause therein of presenting of grievances, I take that but for a parenthesis in your speech, and not a condition ; and yet, for answer to that part, I will tell you, I will be as willing to hear your grievances as my predecessors have been, so that you will apply yourselves to redress grievances, and not to enquire after grievances. I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you ; much less such as are of eminent place and near unto me. The old question was, *what shall be done to the man whom the king will honour ?* but now it hath been the labour of some, to seek what may be done against him whom the king thinks fit to honour. I see you specially aim at the duke of Buckingham : I wonder what hath so altered your affections toward him. I do well remember that in the last parliament in my father's time, when he was an instrument to break the treaties, all of you (and yet I cannot say all, for I know some of you are changed, but yet the house of commons is always the same) did so much honour and respect him, that all the honour conferred on him was too little : and what he hath done since to alter or change your minds I woe not

not; but can assure you, he hath not meddled or done any thing concerning the publick or commonwealth, but by special directions and appointment, and as my servant; and is so far from gaining or improving his estate thereby, that I verily think he hath rather impaired the same. I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last shall feel it.

IV. *To the lords and commons, at Whitehall, March 19,*
1626.

MY lords and gentlemen, I have called you hither to-day, I mean both houses of parliament; but it is for several and distinct reasons. My lords, you of the upper house, to give you thanks for your care of the state of the kingdom now; and not only for the care of your own proceedings, but for inciting your fellow-house of the commons to take that into their consideration: therefore, my lords, I must not only give you thanks, but I must also avow, that if this parliament do not redound to the good of this kingdom, which I pray God it may, it is not your faults. And you gentlemen of the house of commons, I am sorry that I may not justly give the same thanks to you; but I must tell you, that I am come here to shew you your errors, and, as I may call it, unparliamentary proceedings in this parliament. But I do not despair, because you shall see your faults so clearly by the lord keeper, that you may so amend your proceeding, that this parliament shall end comfortably and happily, though at the beginning it hath had some rubs. [After the Lord Keeper had declared his Majesty's pleasure to them, himself added,]

I must withal put you in mind a little of times past. You may remember that in the time of my blessed father you did with your counsel and persuation prevail with my father and me to break off the treaties. I confess I was your instrument, for two reasons: one was, the fitness of the time; the other, because I was seconded by so great and worthy a body as the whole body of parliament. Then there was no body in so great favour with you as this man whom you seem now to touch, but indeed, my father's government and mine. Now that you

have all things according to your wishes, and that I am so far engaged that you think there is no retreat, now you begin to set the dice, and make your own game. But I pray you be not deceived; it is not a parliamentary way, nor is it a way to deal with a king. Master Coke told you, "it was better to die by a foreign enemy than to be destroyed at home." Indeed I think it is more honour for a king to be invaded and almost destroyed by a foreign enemy, than to be despised by his own subjects. Remember that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be. And remember that if in this time instead of mending your errors, by delay you persist in your errors, you make them greater and irreconcilable: whereas, on the other side, if you do go on cheerfully to mend them, and look to the distressed state of christendom, and the affairs of the kingdom, as it lieth now by this great engagement, you will do yourselves honour, you shall encourage me to go on with parliaments, and I hope all christendom shall feel the good of it.

V. To the house of lords at Westminster, May 11, 1626.

MY lords, the cause and only cause of my coming to you this day is, to express the sense I have of all your honours; for he that toucheth any of you, toucheth me in a very great measure. I have thought fit to take order for the punishing some insolent speeches lately spoken; I have been too remiss heretofore in punishing such speeches as concern myself. Not that I was greedy of their monies, but that Buckingham thro' his importunity would not suffer me to take notice of them, lest he might be thought to have set me on, and that he might come the forwarder to his trial. And to approve his innocency as touching the matters against him, I myself can be a witness to clear him in every one of them. I speak not this to take any thing out of your hands, but to shew the reason why I have not hitherto punished those insolent speeches against myself. And now I hope you will be as tender of my honour, when time shall serve, as I have been sensible of yours.

VI. 70

VI. *To the French servants of the Queen, at Somerset-house, July 1, 1626.*

Gentlemen and ladies, I am driven to that extremity, as I am personally come to acquaint you that I very earnestly desire your return into France. True it is, the deportment of some amongst you hath been very inoffensive to me : but others again have so dallied with my patience, and so highly affronted me, as I cannot, I will no longer endure it.

VII. *To the lords and commons, at the opening of his third parliament at Westminster, March 17, 1627-8.*

MY lords and gentlemen, the times are now for action; for action, I say, not for words; therefore I shall use but a few: and (as kings are said to be exemplary to their subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common necessity as to expostulate the cause of this meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it. And as this necessity is the product and consequent of your advice; so the true religion, the laws and liberties of this state, and just defence of our friends and allies, being so considerably concerned, will be, I hope, arguments enough to persuade supply: for if it be, as most true it is, both my duty and yours to preserve this church and common-wealth, this exigency certainly requires it. In this time of common danger I have taken the most antient, speedy, and best way for supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) in not contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions you do not your duties, it shall suffice I have done mine; in the conscience whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath impowered me, to save that which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose. Take not this as a menace, (for I scorn to threaten any but my equals) but as an admonition from him who is tied both by nature and duty to provide for your preservations. And I hope though I thus speak, your demeanours will be such as shall not only make me approve your former counsels, but oblige me

in thankfulness to meet you oftener; than which nothing can be more pleasing to me. I will only add one thing more, and then leave my lord keeper to make a short paraphrase upon the text I have delivered you; which is, to "remember a thing to the end we may forget it." Remembering the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good success at this time. But be assured, I shall freely forget and forgive what is past, hoping you will follow that sacred advice lately inculcated, to *maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.*

VIII. *To the lords and commons at Whitehall, April 4, 1628.*

MY lords and gentlemen, I do very well approve the method of your proceedings in this parliament, a *Jove principium*, hoping that the rest of your consultations will succeed the happier: and I like the preamble of my lord keeper, otherwise I should a little have suspected that you thought me not so careful of religion as I have and ever shall be, wherein I am as forward as you can desire. As for your petition, I answer first in general, that I like that well; and will use these as well as all other means for the maintenance and propagation of that religion wherein I have lived, and do resolve to die. But for the particulars you shall receive more full answer hereafter. And now I will only add this, that as we pray to God to help us, so we must help ourselves; for we can have no assurance of his assistance, if we do lie in a bed and only pray, without using other means: and therefore I must remember you, that if we do not make provision speedily, we shall not be able to put a ship to sea this year. *Verbum sat sapienti est.*

IX. *To the speaker and house of commons, April 14, 1628.*

MAfter speaker, and you gentlemen, when I sent to you my last message, I did not expect a reply: for I intended to hasten you, not to find fault with you. I told you, at your first meeting, that this time was not to be spent in words; and I am sure it is less fit for disputes: which if I had a desire to entertain, master speaker's preamble might have given me ground enough.

The

The question is not now, what liberty you have in disposing of matters handled in the house; but rather, at this time what is fit to be done. Therefore I hope you will follow my example in eschewing disputations, and fall to your important business. You make a protestation of your affection and zeal to my prerogative, grounded upon so good and just reasons, that I must believe you; but I look that you use me with the like charity, to believe what I have declared more than once since your meeting, which is, that I am as forward as you for the preservation of your true liberties. Let us not spend so much time in this that may hazard both my prerogative and your liberties, to our enemies. To be short, go on speedily with your business, without any fear or more apologies, for time calls fast upon you, which will neither stay for you nor me: wherefore it is my duty to press you to hasten, as knowing the necessity of it; and yours to give credit to what I shall say, as to him that sits at the helm. For what concerns your petition, I shall answer it in a convenient time.

X. *To the lords and commons, in answer to their petition of right, June 11, 1628.*

Gentlemen, I am come hither to perform my duty; and I think no man can think it long, since I have not taken so many days in answering of the petition as you have spent weeks in framing it: and I am come hither to shew you, that as well in formal things as in essential I desire to give you as much content as in me lieth.

[The lord keeper having added somewhat in explanation and pursuance of the former, the petition was read, and the king's answer.]

The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the land, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holdeth himself obliged as well as of his prerogative.

XI. *To the lords and commons; his second answer to their petition, in the house of lords, June 7, 1628.*

MY lords and gentlemen, the answer I have already given you was made with so good deliberation, and

and approved by the judgments of so many wise men, that I could not have imagined but that it should have given you full satisfaction: but to avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to shew you that there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words as well as in substance. Read your petition, and you shall have an answer that I am sure will please you.

[The petition being read by the clerk of the crown, the clerk of the parliament read the king's answer; *LE DROICT SOIT FAIT COMME IL EST DESIRE.* Which done, his majesty added,]

This I am sure is full, yet no more than I granted you in my first answer: for the meaning of that was, to confirm all your liberties; knowing, according to your own protestations, that you neither meant nor can hurt my prerogative: and I assure you, my maxim is, the people's liberty strengthens the king's prerogative, and that the king's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties. You see now how ready I have shewed myself to satisfy your demands; so that I have done my part: wherefore if this parliament have not an happy conclusion, the sin is yours, I am free of it.

XII. *To the house of commons, at the reading of their remonstrance, in the banquetting-house at Whitehall, June 11, 1628.*

Gentlemen, upon my answer to your petition of right I expected no such declaration from you, which containeth divers points of state touching the church and commonwealth; and I do conceive you do believe I understand them better than yourselves. But since the reading thereof, I perceive you understand these things less than I imagined: notwithstanding, I will take them into my consideration as they deserve.

XIII. *To the lords and commons, at the prorogation of his third parliament, June 26, 1628.*

My lords and gentlemen, it may seem strange that I come so suddenly to end this session; wherefore before I give my assent to the bills, I will tell you the cause; though I must avow, I owe an account of my actions to none but God alone. It is known to every one that a while ago the house of commons gave me a remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge; and
for

for the merit of it I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justify it. Now since I am certainly informed that a second remonstrance is preparing for me to take away my profit of tonnage and poundage (one of the chief maintenances of the crown) by alleging, that I have given away my right thereof by my answer to your petition: this is so prejudicial unto me, that I am forced to end this session some few hours before I meant it: being not willing to receive any more remonstrances, to which I must give a harsh answer. And since I see that even the house of commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your petition, lest it be worse interpreted in the country, I will now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof. The profession of both houses in the time of hammering this petition was, no ways to trench upon my prerogative, saying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it. Therefore it must needs be conceived that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the antient liberties of my subjects. Yet to shew the clearness of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare, that those things which have been done, whereby men had some cause to suspect the liberty of the subject to be intrenched upon (which indeed was the first and true ground of the petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example to your prejudice: and in time to come, in the word of a king, you shall not have the like cause to complain. But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords the judges; for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of the laws: for none of the houses of parliament, joint or separate, (what new doctrine soever may be raised) have any power either to make or declare a law, without my consent.

XIV. *To the lords and commons, in the banquetting-house at Whitehall, January 24, 1628-9.*

MY lords and gentlemen, the care I have to remove all obstacles that may hinder the good correspondence between me and this parliament, is the cause I have called you hither at this time; the particular occasion being a complaint lately made in the lower house. And for you, my lords, I am glad to take this and all other occasions whereby you may clearly understand both my words and actions: for as you are nearest in degree, so are you the fittest witnesses for kings. The complaint I speak of is, for staying mens goods that denied tonnage and poundage: and this may have an easy and short conclusion, if my words and actions be rightly understood. For by passing the bill, as mine ancestors have had it, my by-past actions will be included, and my future actions authorized: which certainly would not have been stuck upon, if men had not imagined that I had taken this duty as appertaining to my hereditary prerogative: in which they are much deceived: for it ever was and still is my meaning, by the gift of my people to enjoy it; and my intent in my speech at the end of the last session was, not to challenge tonnage and poundage as of right, but *de bene esse*, shewing you the necessity, not the right, by which I was to take it, until I had it granted unto me, assuring myself (according to your general professions) that you wanted time, not will, to grant it unto me. Wherefore now having opportunity, I expect that without loss of time you make good your professions, and so by passing the bill, put an end to all questions arising from this subject; especially since I have cleared all scruples that may trouble you in this business. To conclude, let us not be jealous of one anothers actions; for if I had been easily moved at every occasion, the order made on Wednesday last might have made me startle, there being some shew to suspect that you had given yourselves the liberty to be enquirers after complaints, the words of your order being somewhat largely penned: but looking into your actions, I find you here only complainers, not seeking complaints; for I am certain you neither intend nor desire the liberty to be

be inquisitors after mens actions, before particular complaints be made. This I have spoken, to shew how slow I am to believe harshly of your proceedings: likewise to assure you, that the houses resolution, not particular mens speeches, shall make me judge well or ill: not doubting but, according to mine example, you will be deaf to ill reports concerning me, until my words and actions speak for themselves: but, this session beginning with confidence one towards the other, it may end with a perfect good understanding between us, which God grant.

XV. To the lords and commons, in answer to their petition for a publick fast, Jan. 31, 1628-9.

MY lords and gentlemen, the chiefest motive of your fast being the deplorable estate of the reformed churches abroad, is too true; and our duties are (so much as in us possibly lieth) to give them help: But certainly fighting will do them more good than fasting. Though I do not wholly disallow the latter, yet I must tell you, that this custom of fasts every session is but lately begun, and I confess I am not so fully satisfied with the necessity of it at this time. Yet to shew you how smoothly I desire our business to go on, eschewing (as much as I can) questions and jealousies, I do willingly grant your request herein. But with this note, that I expect that this shall not hereafter be brought into precedent for frequent fasts, except upon great occasions. As for the form and time, I will advise with my lords the bishops, and then send you a particular to both houses.

XVI. To the house of commons, in answer to their declaration concerning tonnage and poundage, Feb. 3, 1628-9.

YOur declaration being somewhat long, may by reason require some time to reply unto it, since (as most of you cannot but judge) that this giveth me no satisfaction. Therefore I shall give you some short notes upon it. I cannot think that, whereas you allege that the bill of tonnage and poundage was brought in against the privilege of your house, that you will offer to take so much privilege from any one of your members,

as not to allow them the liberty to bring in any bill whatsoever ; though it be in your power when it is brought in, to do with it what you think good. And I cannot imagine how, coming hither only by my power, and to treat of things I propound unto you, you can deny me that prerogative to recommend or offer any bill unto you. Though in this particular I must profess, that this bill was not to have been offered you in my name, as that member of your house can bear me witness. As for the cause of delay of my business being religion, there is none of you shall have a greater care for the true preservation of it than myself ; which since it is confessed by your answer, ye must either think I want power, (which cannot be) or that I am very ill-counselled, if it be in such danger as you affirm.

Though I may say much of this point, I will say no more, but that for all this I shall not stop my ears unto you upon this subject, so that in form and matter you transgress not your limits. As for tonnage and poundage, I do not desire it out of greediness (being persuaded you will make no stop in it when you take it in hand) as out of a desire to put an end to all questions that daily arise between me and some of my subjects ; thinking it a strange thing, if you should give ear unto those complaints, and not take the sure and speedy way to decide them. Besides, I must think it strange, that this business of religion should be only a hinderer of my affairs, whereas I am certainly informed, that all other things go on according to their ordinary course. Therefore I must still be instant with you, that you proceed with this business of tonnage and poundage with diligence ; not looking to be denied in so just a desire. And you must not think it much, if finding you slack, I shall give you such further quickening as I find cause.

XVII. To the house of lords, at the dissolving of his third parliament, at Westminster, March 10, 1638-9.

MY lords, I never came here upon so unpleasing an occasion, it being the dissolution of a parliament. Therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather choose to do this by commission, it being a general maxim of kings, to leave harsh commands

commands to their ministers, themselves only executing pleasing things. Yet considering that justice as well consists in reward and praise of virtue as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to-day, to declare to you, my lords, and all the world, That it was merely the undutiful and seditious carriage of the lower house that hath caused the dissolution of this parliament; and that you, my lords, are so far from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutiful demeanors, as I am justly distasted with their proceedings. Yet, to avoid mistakings, let me tell you, that is so far from me to adjudge all that house guilty, that I know there are many there as dutiful subjects as any in the world: it being but some few vipers among them that cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes. Yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that would not be infected with this contagion: insomuch that some did express their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the house the last day. To conclude: as these vipers must look for their reward of punishment: so you, my lords, may justly expect from me that favour and protection that a good king oweth to his loving and dutiful nobility.—And now, my lord keeper, do what I have commanded you.

XVIII. *To the speaker of the house of commons. Apr. 1640.*

M After speaker, I will only say one word to you: Now that you are the speaker, I command you to do the office of a speaker, which is, faithfully to report the great cause of the meeting, that my lord keeper in my name did represent unto you the last day: with this assurance, that you giving me your timely help in this great affair, I shall give a willing ear to all your just grievances.

XIX. *To the house of lords at Westminster. Apr. 24, 1640.*

His Majesty said,

T Hat the cause of his coming was to put them in mind of what had been delivered by the lord keeper, in his name, unto both houses the first day of the parliament; and after at Whitehall:—How, contrary to his expectation, the house of commons hav-

ing held consultation of matter of religion, property of goods, and liberty of parliament, and voted some things concerning those three heads, had therefore given them the precedence before the matter of his supply: That his necessities were such, they could not bear delay: That whatsoever he had by the lord keeper promised, he would perform, if the house of commons would trust him:—For religion, that his heart and conscience went together with the religion established in the church of England; and he would give order to his archbishops and bishops, that no innovation in matter of religion should creep in:—For the ship-money, that he never made or intended to make any profit to himself of it, but only to preserve the dominion of the seas; which was so necessary, that without it the kingdom could not subsist: but for the way and means, by ship-money or otherwise, he left it to them:—For property of goods, and liberty of parliament, he ever intended his people should enjoy them, holding no king so great as he that was king of a rich and free people; and if they had not property of goods and liberty of persons, they could be neither rich nor free:—That if the house of commons would not first trust him, all his affairs would be disordered, and his business lost: that tho' they trusted him in part at first, yet before the parliament ended he must totally trust them; and in conclusion, they must, for execution of all things, wholly trust him. Therefore since the matter was no more than who should be first trusted, and that the trust of him first was but a trust in part; he desired the lords to take into their consideration his and their own honour; the safety and welfare of this kingdom; with the great danger it was in, and that they would by their advice dispose the house of commons to give his supply the precedence before the grievances.

XX. To the lords and commons, at the dissolving of his fourth parliament, at Westminster, May 5, 1640.

MY lords, there can no occasion of my coming to this house be so unpleasing to me as this is at this time. The fear of doing that which I am to do at this day made me not long ago come to this house, where I expressed

expressed as well my fears, as the remedies I thought necessary for the eschewing of it. Unto which I must confess and acknowledge that you, my lords of the higher house, did give me so willing an ear, and with such affection did shew yourselves thereafter, that certainly I may say, if there had been any means to have given an happy end to this parliament, you took it: so that it was neither your lordships fault nor mine, that it is not so. Therefore in the first place I must give your lordships thanks for your good endeavours. I hope you remember what my lord keeper said to you the first day of the parliament, in my name; what likewise he said in the banquetting-house in Whitehall; and what I lately said to you in this place myself. I name all this unto you, not in doubt that you do not well remember it, but to shew, that I never said any thing in way of favour to my people, but that, by the grace of God, I will really and punctually perform it. I know that they insisted very much on grievances, and I will not say but that there may be some; though I will confidently affirm, that there are not by many degrees so many as the publick voice doth make them. Wherefore I desire you to take notice, now especially at this time, that out of parliament I shall be as ready (if not more willing) to hear and redress any just grievances as in parliament. There is one thing which is much spoken of, though not so much insisted on as others, and that is religion: concerning which albeit I expressed myself fully the last day in this place to your lordships, yet I think it fit again on this occasion to tell you, that as I am most concerned, so I shall be most careful to preserve that purity of religion which, I thank God, is so well established in the church of England; and that as well out as in parliament. My lords, I shall not trouble you long with words, it being not my fashion: wherefore to conclude, what I offered the last day to the house of commons I think is well known to you all, as likewise how they accepted it; which I desire not to remember, but wish that they had remembered, how at first they were told, in my name, by my lord keeper, that delay was the worst kind of denial. Yet I will not lay this fault on the whole house, for I will not judge so uncharitably of those whom

whom for the most part I take to be loyal and well-affected subjects ; but that it hath been the malicious cunning of some few seditiously-affected men that hath been the cause of this misunderstanding, I shall now end as I began, in giving your lordships thanks for your affection shewed to me at this time ; desiring you to go on to assist me in the maintaining of that regal power that is truly mine. And as for the liberty of the people, that they now so much seem to startle at, know, my lords, that no king in the world shall be more careful to maintain them in the property of their goods, liberty of their persons, and true religion, than I shall be. And now, my lord keeper, do what I have commanded you.

XXI. To the great council of lords at York, September 24. 1640.

MY lords, upon sudden invasions, where the dangers are near and instant, it hath been the custom of my predecessors to assemble the great council of the peers, by their advice and assistance to give a timely remedy to such evils as cannot admit a delay so long as must of necessity be allowed for the assembling the parliament. This being our condition at this time, and an army of rebels lodged within the kingdom, I thought it most fit to conform myself to the practice of my predecessors in like cases, that with your advice and assistance we might jointly proceed to the chastisement of their insolencies, and securing of our good subjects. In the first place I must let you know, that I desire nothing more than to be rightly understood of my people ; and to that end I have of myself resolved to call a parliament, having already given order to my lord keeper to issue out the writs instantly, so that the parliament may be assembled by the third of November next : whither if my subjects bring the like good affections as I do, it shall not fail on my part to make it a happy meeting. In the mean time there are two points to be considered, wherein I shall desire your advice, which indeed is the chief cause of your meeting. First, what answer to give to the petition of the rebels, and in what manner to treat with them. Of which that you may give a sure judgment, I have ordered that your lordships shall be clearly and truly informed

formed of the state of the whole business; and upon what reasons the advices that my privy council unanimously gave me were grounded. Secondly, how my army shall be kept on foot and maintained till the supplies of a parliament may be had. For so long as the Scots army remains in England, I think no man will counsel me to disband mine: for that would be an unspeakable loss to all this part of the kingdom, by subjecting them to the greedy appetite of the rebels; beside the unspeakable dishonour that would thereby fall upon this nation.

XXII. To the lords and commons, at the opening of his fifth parliament at Westminster, November 3, 1640.

MY lords, the knowledge that I had of the designs of my Scottish subjects was the cause of my calling the last assembly of parliament; wherein had I been believed, I sincerely think that things had not fallen out as now we see. But it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a sedition should be raised on so little ground. But now, my lords and gentlemen, the honour and safety of this kingdom lying so nearly at stake, I am resolved to put myself freely and clearly on the love and affections of my English subjects, as those of my lords that did wait on me at York very well remember I there declared. Therefore my lords, I shall not mention mine own interest, or that support I might justly expect from you, till the common safety be secured: though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those charges I have been at have been merely for the security and good of this kingdom, though the success hath not been answerable to my desires.

Therefore I shall only desire you to consider the best way both for the safety and security of this kingdom; wherein are two things chiefly considerable: first, the chasing out of the rebels; and secondly, that other in satisfying your just grievances: wherein I shall promise you to concur so heartily and clearly with you, that all the world may see, my intentions have ever been, and shall be, to make this a glorious and flourishing kingdom. There are only two more things that I shall mention to you. The one is, to tell you, that the loan of money

ney which I lately had from the city of London, wherein the lords that waited on me at York assisted me, will only maintain my army for two months, from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now, my lords and gentlemen, I leave it to your considerations, what dishonour and mischief it might be, in case for want of money my army be disbanded before the rebels be put out of this kingdom. Secondly, the securing the calamities the northern people endure at this time, and so long as the treaty is on foot : and in this I may say, not only they, but all this kingdom will suffer the harm. Therefore I leave this also to your consideration. For the ordering of these great affairs whereof you are to treat at this time, I am so confident of your love to me, and that your care is such for the honour and safety of the kingdom, that I shall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin : only this, that you may the better know the state of all the affairs, I have commanded my lord keeper to give you a short and free account of those things that have happened in this interim : with this protestation, that if his account be not satisfactory as it ought to be, I shall, whensoever you desire it, give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this an happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion one of another. As I promised my lords at York, it shall not be my fault, if this be not a happy and good parliament.

XXIII. *To the house of lords, at Westminster, Nov. 5,*
1640.

MY lords, I do expect that you will hastily make relation to the house of commons of those great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the trust I have reposed in them, and how freely I put myself on their love and affections at this time : And that you may know the better how to do so, I shall explain myself concerning one thing I spake the last day. I told you the rebels must be put out of this kingdom. It is true, I must needs call them so, so long as they have an army that does invade us, although I am under treaty with them, and under my great seal do
call

call them subjects; and so they are too. But the state of my affairs in short is this: It is true, I did expect, when I did will my lords and great ones to be at York, to have given a gracious answer to all their grievances; for I was in good hope by their wisdoms and assistances to have made an end of that business: but I must tell you that my subjects of Scotland did so delay them, that it was not possible to end there. Therefore I can no ways blame my lords that were at Rippon, that the treaty was not ended: but must thank them for their pains and industry. And certainly had they as much power as affections, I should by this time have brought these distempers to a happy period. So that now the treaty is transported from Rippon to London, where I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner: for I shall lay open all the steps of this misunderstanding, and the causes of the great differences between me and my subjects of Scotland. And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them return whether they will or no.

XXIV. *To the lords and commons, at the banquetting-house in Whitehall, Jan. 25, 1640-1.*

MY Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses, the principal cause of my coming here at this time is by reason of the slow proceedings in parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience: Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as they now stand, thereby to hasten, not to interrupt, your proceedings. First, I must remember you that there are two armies in the kingdom in a manner maintained by you; the very naming of which doth more clearly shew the inconvenience thereof than a better tongue than mine can express. Therefore in the first place I shall commend unto you the quick dispatch of that business. In the next place, I must recommend unto you the state of my navy and forts; the condition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars: only thus

thus much, they are the walls and defence of this kingdom, which, if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement it will be to our enemies, and what disheartening to our friends. Last of all, and not the least to be considered, I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivance of parliament : for there are some men that, more maliciously than ignorantly, will put no difference between reformation and alteration of government. Hence it cometh that divine service is irreverently interrupted : and petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some rocks that may hinder this good work. I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the reformation of all innovations both in church and common-wealth ; and consequently, that all courts of justice may be reformed according to law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times, as they were in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Moreover, whatsoever part of my revenue shall be found illegal or heavy to my subjects, I shall be willing to lay down, trusting in their affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs ; and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) petitions, given in in the name of divers counties against the present established government of the church, and of the great threatenings against the bishops, that they will make them to be but cyphers, or at least their voices to be taken away. Now I must tell you, that I make a great difference between reformation and alteration of government : though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. If some of them have overstretched their power, and encroached too much upon the temporalty, if it be so, I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses, according to the wisdom of former times : so far I shall go with you. Nay, further, if upon serious debate you shall shew me that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not so necessary for the government of the church

church and upholding episcopal jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down. But this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their voices in parliament should be taken away : for in all the times of my predecessors, since the conquest and before, they have enjoyed it ; and I am bound to maintain them in it, as one of the fundamental constitutions of the kingdom. There is another rock you are on, not in substance, but in form ; yet the form is so essential, that unless it be reformed, it will mar the substance. There is a bill lately put in, concerning parliaments. The thing I like well, to have frequented parliaments : but to give power to sheriffs and constables, and I know not whom, to use my authority, that I cannot yield unto. But to shew you that I am desirous to give you contentment in forms which destroy not the substance, you shall have a bill for this purpose, so that it trench neither against my honour, nor against the ancient prerogative of the crown concerning parliaments. To which purpose I have commanded my learned counsel to wait on you, my lords, with such propositions as I hope will give you content. For I ingenuously confess, that frequent parliaments are the best means to keep a right understanding between me and my people, which I so much desire. To conclude, I have now shewed you the state of my affairs, my own clear intentions, and the rocks I wish you to eschew : in all which you may perceive the desire I have to give you content ; as you shall find also by those ministers I have or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my good intentions, which I doubt not will bring peace and happiness to my subjects, and contentment to you all. Concerning the conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

XXV. *To the lords and commons, in answer to their remonstrance about papists, Feb. 3, 1640-1.*

HAVING taken into my serious consideration the late remonstrance of the houses of parliament, I give you this answer : That I take in good part your care of the true religion established in this kingdom,
from

from which I will never depart ; as also your tenderneſs of my ſafety, and the ſecurity of this ſtate and government. It is againſt my mind that popery or ſuperſtition ſhould any way increaſe within this kingdom ; I will reſtrain the ſame, by cauſing the laws to be put in execution. I am reſolved to provide againſt the jeſuits and papifts, by ſetting forth a proclamation with all ſpeed, commanding them to depart the kingdom within one month : of which if they fail, or ſhall return, then they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the laws. Concerning Roſetti, I give you to underſtand that the queen hath always aſſured me, that to her knowledge he hath no commiſſion, but only to retain a perſonal correſpondence between her and the pope in things requiſite for the exerciſe of her religion, which is warranted to her by the articles of marriage, which gave her a full liberty of conſcience. Yet I have perſuaded her, that ſince the miſunderſtanding of that perſon's condition gives offence, ſhe will within a convenient time remove him. Moreover, I will take a ſpecial care to reſtrain my ſubjects from reſorting to maſs at Denmark-houſe, St James's, and the chapels of ambaffadors. Laſtly, concerning John Goodman the prieſt, I will let you know the reaſon why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen Eliſabeth nor my father did ever avow, that any prieſt in their times was executed merely for religion, which to me ſeems to be this particular caſe. Yet ſeeing that I am preſſed by both houſes to give way to this, becauſe I will avoid the inconvenience of giving ſo great diſcontent to my people as I conceive this mercy may produce, therefore I do remit this particular caſe to both the houſes. But I deſire them to take into their conſiderations the inconveniences (as I conceive) that may upon this occaſion fall upon my ſubjects and other Proteſtants abroad, eſpecially ſince it may ſeem to other ſtates to be a ſeverity. Which having thus repreſented, I think myſelf diſcharged from all ill conſequences that may enſue upon the execution of this perſon.

XXVI. *To the houſe of lords at Weſtmiſter, Feb. 10, 1641.*

MY lords, that freedom and confidence which I expreſſed at the beginning of this parliament to
have

have of your love and fidelity towards my person and estate hath made me at this time come hither to acquaint you with that alliance and confederacy which I intend to make with the prince of Orange and the states; which before this time I did not think expedient to do, because that part I do desire your advice and assistance upon was not ready to be treated on. I will not trouble you with a long digression, by shewing the steps of this treaty, but leave you to be satisfied in that by those who under me do manage that affair. Only I shall shew you the reasons which have induced me to it, and in what I expect your assistance and council. The considerations that have induced me to it are these. First, the matter of religion: here needs no dispensation; no fear that my daughter's conscience may be any way perverted. Secondly, I do esteem that a strict alliance and confederacy with the states will be as useful to this kingdom as that with any of my neighbours; especially considering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of their strength. And lastly, (which I must never forget in these occasions) the use I may make of this alliance towards the establishing of my sister and nephews. Now to shew you in what I desire your assistance, you must know that the articles of marriage are in a manner concluded, but not to be totally ratified until that of alliance be ended and agreed; which before I demanded your assistance, I did not think fit to enter upon. And that I may not leave you too much at large how to begin that council, I present you here the propositions which are offered by me to the states ambassadors for that intent. And so, my lords, I shall only desire you to make as much expedition in your counsels as so great a business shall require, and shall leave your lordships to your own free debate.

XXVII. To the lords and commons, at his passing the bill for triennial parliaments, at Westminster, February 15, 1640-1.

MY Lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the house of commons, you may remember, when both houses were with me at the banquetting house at Whitehall, I did declare unto you two
rocks

rocks I wished you to eschew : this is one of them, and of that consequence, that I think never bill passed here in this house of more favour to the subject than this is. And if the other rock be as happily passed over as this shall be at this time, I do not know what you can ask, for ought I can see at this time, that I can make any question to yield unto. Therefore I mention this, to shew unto you the sense that I have of this bill, and the obligation, as I may say, that you have to me for it. For hitherto to speak freely, I had no great encouragement to do it ; if I should look to the outward face of your actions or proceedings, and not to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make question of doing it. Hitherto you have gone on in what concerns yourselves to amend, and not in those things that nearly concern the strength of this kingdom, neither for the state, nor my own particular. This I mention not to reproach you, but to shew you the state of things as they are. You have taken the government all in pieces, and I may say it is almost off the hinges : a skilful watchmaker, to make clean his watch, will take it aunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better ; so that he leave not out one pin of it. Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on yours : and I hope you shall see clearly, that I have performed really what I expressed to you at the beginning of this parliament, of the great trust I have of your affections to me. And this is the great expression of trust, that before you do any thing for me, I do put such a confidence in you.

XXVIII. *To the lords and commons, about disbanding the armies in Ireland and England, at the banquetting-house in Whitehall, April 28, 1641.*

MY Lords and gentlemen, for answer to your desires, I say, First, concerning the removal of papists from court, I am sure you all know what legal trust the crown hath in this particular : and therefore I need not say any thing to give you assurance that I shall use it so that there shall be no just cause of scandal. Secondly, For disarming of papists, I am very well content it shall be done according to law. Thirdly, For the

the Irish army, you must understand, I am already upon consultation how to disband it ; but I find many difficulties in it : therefore I hold it not only fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done. This is not all I desire ; but since you have mentioned the disbanding of armies, it is my duty to my country to wish for disbanding of all armies, and to restore the same peace to all my three kingdoms that the king my father did leave them in ; and I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God and to your country, to join with me heartily and speedily for the disbanding of the two armies in England. This is a very good time to speak of it ; and there are but two ways to do it. One is, to answer their petitions : and the second is, to provide monies. You are masters of the one, and with me, you are judges of the other. And you shall not be readier (nor so ready) to bring this to a happy conclusion, than I myself shall be.

XXIX. To the house of lords, concerning the bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford, at Westminster May 1, 1641.

MY Lords, I had no intention to have spoken to you of this business this day, which is the great business concerning my lord of Strafford, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to pass, that seeing of necessity I must have part in the judgment, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein. I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this great case from the end to the other : and I must tell you, that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high treason. It is not fit for me to argue this business ; I am sure you will not expect that : a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth of a prince. Yet I must tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as myself. First, That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish army into England, nor ever was advised by any body so to do. Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, either in publick counsel or private committee, of the disloyalty of my English subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them. Thirdly, that I never was counselled by any to
alter

alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think nobody durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it: for if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the law, and no otherwise. I desire to be rightly understood; for though I tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours. Therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfy justice and your own fears, and not oppress my conscience. My lords, I hope you know what a tender thing conscience is; and I must declare unto you, that to satisfy the people I would do great matters: but in this of conscience, neither fear nor any other respect whatsoever shall ever make me go against it. Certainly, I have not deserved so ill of this parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender; therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay, for misdemeanours I am so clear in them, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you, that I think my lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no not so much as a constable. Therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this streight, and keep yourselves and the kingdom from such inconveniencies.

XXX. *To the lords and commons, at his passing the bill of tonnage and poundage, June 22, 1641.*

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time as a testimony of your love and beginning of your dutiful affections to me; and I nowise doubt but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto me, and that in due time you will perform the rest when you have leisure.

I do not doubt likewise, but that in passing this bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people that I desire my people would shew to me: as in this parliament hitherto,

hitherto, nobody can say but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes. And therefore in this particular bill I hope you will know, that I do freely and frankly give over the right that my predecessors have ever challenged unto them, though, I confess, disputed, but yet they did never yield in their times. Therefore you will understand this but a mark of my confidence, to put myself wholly upon the love and affections of my people for my subsistence. And therefore I hope that in prosecution of this you will go on as you have said; and that though you have rumours of jealousies and suspicions, by flying and idle discourses that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confess I never understood it otherwise than as having relation to the Scottish army and preventing insurrections, which vanished as soon as they were born. And therefore now you see my clearness, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other; for I never had other design, but to win the affections of my people by my justice in my government.

XXXI. *To the lords and commons, at his passing the bills for taking away the high commission and star-chamber, and regulating the council-table, July 5. 1641.*

I Come to do the office which I forbore to do on Saturday last, to give determination to these two bills. But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those reports of discontent that I hear some have taken for not giving my consent on Saturday. Methinks it seems strange that any one should think, I could pass two bills of that importance that these were without taking some fit time to consider of them; for it is no less than to alter, in a great measure, those fundamental laws, ecclesiastical and civil, which many of my predecessors have established. If you consider what I have done this parliament, discontent will not fit in your hearts: for I hope you remember that I have granted, that the judges hereafter shall hold their places *quandiu se bene gesserint*; I have bounded the forests, not according to my right, but according to late customs; I have established the property of the subjects,

witness the free giving, not taking away, the ship-money; I have established by act of parliament the property of the subject in tonnage and poundage, which never was done in any of my predecessors times; I have granted a law for triennial parliaments, and given way to an act for the securing of monies advanced for the disbanding of the armies; I have given free course of justice against delinquents; I have put the law in execution against papists: Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me: and therefore methinks you should not wonder if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progress in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon trivial matters to give you content. I hope you are sensible of these beneficial favours bestowed on you at this time. To conclude, you know that by your consent there is a prefixed time set for my going into Scotland, and there is an absolute necessity for it; I do not know but that things may so fall that it may be shortened; Therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great businesses that now are necessary to be done, and leave trivial and superficial matters to another meeting. For my part, I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more than your happiness, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good testimony by passing these two bills.

LE ROY LE VEULT.

I have one word more to speak to you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both houses, that thereby all the world shall see that there is a good understanding between me and my people. It is concerning my nephew the prince elector palatine, who having desired me and the king of Denmark to give way to a writing concerning the diet at Ratisbone with the emperor, I could not but send my ambassador to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect; which my nephew foreseeing, hath desired me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a manifesto in my name: which is a thing of great consequence, and should I do it alone, without the advice of my parliament, it would rather be a scorn than otherwise:
therefore

therefore I do propose it unto you, that if you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my name.

XXXII. *To the Scotish parliament, at Edinburgh, Aug. 19, 1641.*

MY lords and gentlemen, there hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences which have happened between me and my people: and nothing that I have more desired than to see this day, wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native country. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through and overcome to be here at this present: yet this I will say, if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a commission which I am come to perform myself. And this considered, I cannot doubt of such real testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that royal power which I enjoy after an hundred and eight descents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my coming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withal to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out among you: and this I mind not superficially, but fully and chearfully to perform. For I assure you that I can do nothing with more chearfulness than to give my people a general satisfaction. Wherefore not offering to endear myself unto you in words (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act.

XXXIII. *To the lords and commons, after his return out of Scotland, at Westminster, Dec. 2, 1641.*

MY lords and gentlemen, I think it fit, after so long absence, at this first occasion to speak a few words unto you: but it is noways in answer to master speaker's learned speech. Albeit I have stayed longer than I

expected to have done when I went away ; yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back again that the settling of my Scottish affairs could any ways permit. In which I have had so good success, that I will confidently affirm to you, that I have left that nation a most peaceable and contented people : so that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end. But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my return, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesses at my return. For since that before my going I settled the liberties of my subjects, and gave the law a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietness and satisfaction of mind : but instead of this, I find them disturbed with jealousies, frights, and alarms of dangerous designs and plots ; in consequence of which guards have been set to defend both houses. I say not this as in doubt that my subjects affections are any way lessened to me in this time of my absence, for I cannot but remember, to my great comfort, the joyful reception I had now at my entry into London : but rather, as I hope that my presence will easily disperse these fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever prince did, or as good subjects can possibly desire. And I am so far from repenting me of any act I have done this session for the good of my people, that I protest if it were to do again I would do it ; and will yet grant what else can be justly desired for satisfaction in point of liberties, or in maintenance of the true religion that is here established. Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time : it is Ireland ; for which though I doubt not your care, yet methinks the preparations for it go but slowly on. The occasion is the fitter for me now to mention it, because of the arrival of two lords from Scotland, who come instructed from my council there (who now by act of parliament have full power for that purpose) to answer that demand which it pleased both houses to make of me by way of petition that met me at Berwick, and which the duke of Richmond sent
back

back by my command to my Scotch council: therefore my desire is, that both houses would appoint a select committee to end this business with these noblemen. I must conclude in telling you, that I seek my people's happiness; for their flourishing is my greatest glory, and their affections my greatest strength.

XXXIV. To the lords and commons, concerning Ireland, and the bill for pressing soldiers, December 14, 1641.

MY lords and gentlemen, the last time I was in this place, and the last thing that I recommended unto you was the business of Ireland: whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed again to have put you in mind of that business. But still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the daily dispatches that I have out of Ireland, of the lamentable estate of my protestant subjects there, I cannot but again earnestly commend the dispatch of that expedition unto you; for it is the chief business that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot almost be any business that I can have more care of. I might now take up some of your time in expressing my detestation of rebellions in general, and of this in particular. But knowing that deeds and not declarations must suppress this great insolency, I do here in a word offer you whatsoever my power, pains, or industry can contribute to this good and necessary work of reducing the Irish nation to their true and wonted obedience. And that nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the bill for pressing of soldiers, now depending among you, my lords: concerning which I here declare, that in case it come so to me as it may not infringe or diminish my prerogative, I will pass it. And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this ancient and undoubted prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer that the bill may pass with a *salvo jure* both for king and people, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear them. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this bill pass not, but theirs that refuse so fair an offer. To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all disputes,

you go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland.

XXXV. *To the house of commons, about the five members, January 4, 1641-2.*

Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant at arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege. And therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here. For I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as those persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for treason) are here, I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it. Therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, sithence I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you in the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now sithence I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect, as soon as they do come to the house, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them.

XXXVI. *To the citizens of London, at Guild-hall, January 5. 1641-2.*

Gentlemen, I am come to demand such prisoners as I have already attainted of high treason, and do believe they are shrouded in the city. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treason and misdemeanors of an high nature. I desire your
loving

loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legal trial. And whereas there are divers suspicions raised that I am a favourer of the popish religion, I do profess in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any ways oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either papist or separatist; and not only so, but I will maintain and defend that true protestant religion which my father did profess, and I will still continue in during life.

XXXVII. To the committee of both houses, at the delivery of the petition for the militia, at Theobald's, March 1. 1641-2.

I Am so amazed at this message, that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears; lay your hands to your hearts, and ask yourselves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies: and if so, I assure you, this message hath nothing lessened them. For the militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice or reason you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not. For my son, I shall take that care of him which shall justify me to God as a father, and to my dominions as a king. To conclude, I assure you upon my honour that I have no thought but of peace and justice to my people; which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of myself and rights.

XXXVIII. To the committee of both houses, at the presenting of their declaration, at Newmarket, March 9. 1641-2.

I Am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy answer to this strange and unexpected declaration: and I am sorry (in the distractions of this kingdom) you should think this way of address to be more convenient than that proposed by my message of

the twentieth of January last to both houses. As concerning the grounds of your fears and jealousies, I will take time to answer particularly: and doubt not but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the world. God in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all plots and treasons; and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean time I must tell you, that I rather expected a vindication from the imputation laid on me in master Pym's speech, than that any more general rumors and discourses should get credit with you. For my fears and doubts, I did not think they should have been thought so groundless or trivial, while so many seditious pamphlets and sermons are looked upon, and so great tumults remembered, unpunished, uninquired into. I still confess my fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true protestant profession, my people and laws, than for my own rights or safety; though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger. What would you have? have I violated your laws? have I denied to pass any one bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment from heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of this land: and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation. As for the additional declaration, you are to expect an answer to it, when you shall receive the answer to the declaration itself.

Some passages that happened March 9. between his majesty and the committee of both houses, when the declaration was delivered.

When his majesty heard that part of the declaration which mentioned master Jermin's transportation, his majesty interrupted the earl of Holland in reading, and said, "that's false:" which being afterwards touch'd upon

upon again, his majesty then said, "'tis a lie." And when he was informed, it related not to the date, but the execution of the warrant, his majesty said, "it might have been better expressed then;" and that "it was a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise." "As for this declaration, I could not have believed the parliament would have sent me such an one, if I had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. I am sorry for the parliament, but glad I have it: for by that I doubt not to satisfy my people; though I am confident the greater part is so already. Ye speak of ill counsels: but I am confident the parliament hath had worse informations than I have had counsels."

His majesty asking what he had denied the parliament, the earl of Holland instanced that of the militia: his majesty replied, "that was no bill." The earl then said, "it was a necessary request at this time:" his majesty also replied, "he had not denied it." *What passed next day, when his majesty delivered his answer.*

The earl of Holland having read his majesty's answer to the rest of the committee, endeavoured to persuade his majesty to come near the parliament. To which his majesty answered, "I would you had given me cause; but I am sure this declaration is not the way to it: and in all Aristotle's rhetoricks there is no such argument of persuasion." The earl of Pembroke thereupon telling his majesty, that the parliament had humbly besought his majesty to come near them, as afore-said; his majesty replied, "he had learnt by their declaration that words were not sufficient." The earl again moving his majesty to express what he would have, his majesty said, "he would whip a boy in Westminster-school that could not tell that by his answer:" and "that they were much mistaken, if they thought his answer of that a denial." The earl of Pembroke then asking, whether the militia might not be granted as was desired by the parliament for a time; his majesty answered, "not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." His majesty

also said, "the business of Ireland will never be done in
 "the way that you are in : four hundred will never do
 "that work ; it must be put into the hands of one. If
 "I were trusted with it, I will pawn my head to end that
 "work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet"
 (speaking with a strong asseveration) "I can find money
 "for that."

XXXIX. *To the gentry of Yorksbire, when they presented their petitions, April 5, 1642.*

MAfter sheriff, and gentlemen, I believe you expect not a present and particular answer to your petition, because it is new to me. Only in general I must tell you, that I see by it, that I am not deceived in the confidence I have in the affections of this county to my person and state : and I assure you, that I will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your petition to have in me, and I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken grounds, as other petitions have been to me since I came to this place. Concerning which let me observe unto you, that my answers were to clear those mistakings : for I never did go about to punish or discourage them from petitioning to me in an humble way, tho' the subject did not agree with my sense ; albeit within the memory of man people have been discouraged and threatened to be punished for petitions. I observe that your petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good ; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some particulars you have great reason to do it. And therefore that you may not fare the worse for your modesty, I will put you in mind of three particulars which I conceive to be for the good of this country. The first is concerning your trained bands, to reduce them to a lesser number ; for which I confess to stand engaged by promise to you, which I had performed long since, if I had been put in mind of it. And now I tell you, shew me but the way, and, when you shall think fit, I shall instantly reduce them to that number which I promised you two years ago. The second is, that which is owing to this country for billet-money. The truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it : only I will say this, that if
 al

all the water had gone to the right mill, upon my word: you had been long ago satisfied in this particular. And so I leave to your discretions, which way you will advise and assist me to comply with the engagements to you in this point. The third is, that for which was petitioned as I came up the last year both by the lord mayor and aldermen of this city, and likewise by divers others of this county as I went southward, and that is concerning the court of York. And first let me tell you, that as yet I know no legal dissolution of it, for hitherto formally there is nothing come to me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away: therefore I may say, it is rather shaken in pieces than dissolved. Now my desire is, in compliance to what I answered the last year unto the several petitions delivered to me upon this subject, that you would consult and agree among yourselves, in what manner you would have the court established most to your own contentments, and to the good of all these northern parts, in such a legal way as that it may be not justly be excepted against, and I assure you in the word of an honest man, that you shall not blame me if you have not full satisfaction in it. Within a day or two ye shall have a particular answer to your petition, which shall be such an one as I am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put you into such a way as, I hope, may produce good effects to the good of all this kingdom.

XL. To the gentry of Yorksbire, at York, May 12, 1642.

Gentlemen, I have cause of adding, not altering what I meant to say, when I gave out the summons for this day's appearance. I little thought of these messengers, or of such a message as they brought. The which, because it confirms me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all passages between me and the parliament; you shall hear read; first, my answer to the declaration of both houses concerning Hull; the answer of the parliament to my two messages concerning Hull, together with my reply to the same; and my message to both houses, declaring the reasons why I refused to pass the bill concerning the militia.

All which being read, his majesty proceeded :

I will make no paraphrases upon what you have heard ; it is more befitting a lawyer than a king. Only this observation, since treason is countenanced so near me, it is time to look to my safety. I avow, it was part of my wonder, that men whom I thought heretofore discreet and moderate, should have undertaken this employment, and that, since they came, I having delivered them the answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the parliament, they should have flatly disobeyed me, upon pretence of the parliament's command. My end in telling you this is, to warn you of them ; for since these men have brought me such a message, and disobeyed so lawful a command, I will not say what their intent of staying here is : only I bid you take heed, not knowing what doctrine of disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cause of my coming hither, tumults and disorders having made me leave the south ; and not to make this a seat of war, as malice would (but, I hope, in vain) make you believe. Now if disturbances come, I know whom I have reason to suspect. To be short, you see that my magazine is going to be taken from me, being my own proper goods, directly against my will : the militia, against law and my consent, is going to be put in execution ; and lastly, Sir John Hotham's treason is countenanced. All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend dangers. Therefore I have thought fit upon these real grounds to tell you, that I am resolved to have a guard (the parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary jealousies) only to secure my person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the laws, and the true protestant profession, from any affront or injury that may be offered : which I mean to maintain myself, without charge to the country : intending not longer to keep them on foot than I shall be secured of my just apprehensions, by having satisfaction in the particulars beforementioned.

*XLII. To the inhabitants of Nottinghamshire, at Newark,
July 4, 1642.*

Gentlemen, your honest resolutions and affections to me and your country, for the defence of my person and the laws of the land, have been and are so notable, that they have drawn me hither only to thank you ; I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my subjects, but am come hither only to thank and encourage you. You have made the best judgment of happiness, by relying on that foundation which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of, the assurance and security of the law. And assure yourselves, when laws shall be altered by any other authority than that by which they were made, your foundations are destroyed ; and though it seems at first but to take away my power, it will quickly swallow all your interest. I ask nothing of you, tho' your demeanour gives me good evidence that you are not willing to deny, but to preserve your own affections to the religion and laws established. I will justify and protect those affections, and will live and die with you in that quarrel.

*XLII. To the inhabitants of Lincolnshire.
At Lincoln, July 15, 1642.*

Gentlemen, if I could have suspected your affections, or have censured the duty of this county by some late actions in it, I should not have taken this pains to have given you a testimony of my affection to you, and to remove those objections, which being raised by a malignant party, may, by their cunning and industry, get credit even with honest minds. The truth is, I come to you to assure you of my purposes and resolutions for the defence of whatever is and should be dear unto you, your religion, your liberty, your common interest, and the laws of the land ; and to undeceive you of that opinion which, I hear, hath misled many of you, that the pretended ordinance of the militia is warranted by my consent and authority. As I have already informed you by my several declarations and messages, that the same is against the known law, and an invasion of my unquestionable right, and of your liberty and property ;

10

so I do now declare unto you, that the same is imposed upon you against my express consent, and in contempt of my regal authority; and therefore whosoever shall henceforth presume to execute or obey the same, I shall proceed against them as against such who promote rebellion, and actually levy war against me. And I doubt not but you will sadly consider, that if any authority without and against my consent may lawfully impose such burdens upon you, it may likewise take away all that you have from you, and subject you to their lawless arbitrary power and government. And how far they are like to exercise that jurisdiction towards you, you may guess by the insolence of Sir John Hotham at Hull, who, being a subject, not only presumes to keep his sovereign by force of arms out of his town, but murders his fellow subjects, imprisons them, burns their houses, drowns their land, takes them captive, and commits such outrages and acts of hostility, as the most unequal and outrageous enemies practise in any country; that you may see how impossible it is for your liberties and properties to be preserved, when your king is oppressed, and his just rights taken from him. Who hath brought these calamities upon your neighbours at Hull every man sees, and they only can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from me, that I need put you in mind of the gracious acts passed by me this parliament on your behalfs: and if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest subjects in the world, I am sure it is not my fault that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general expressions: it is not in your power to name one particular which might make you happy, that I have refused to grant. Be not frightened with apprehensions that this country is like to be the seat of war. The seat of a war will be only where persons rise in rebellion against me: that will not, I hope, be here; and then you shall be sure of my protection; I will live and die in your defence. And that you may be in a readiness and a posture to defend yourselves and me against any invasion or rebellion, I have armed several persons of honour, quality, and reputation amongst you,
and

and of your own country, with a commission of array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that ordinance which is not provided for by this commission; which being according to the old known law, is fit for your obedience, and I doubt not but you will find it. In a word, I assure you upon the faith and honour of a christian king, I will be always as tender of any thing which may advance the true protestant religion, protect and preserve the laws of the land, and defend the just privilege and freedom of parliament, as of my life or my crown; and when I fail in either of these, I will not look for your assistance. Till then you are concerned not to see me suffer.

XLIII. To the inhabitants of Leicester, at Leicester, July 20, 1642.

Gentlemen, since I have found my presence so very acceptable amongst my good subjects in these northern parts, and that the errors and mistakes amongst them have wholly proceeded from misinformation, and are removed with more satisfaction and ease to them than they were received; I hold it a piece of my duty, to take the utmost pains I can, fully to inform and undeceive my people, and rather to prevent crimes than to punish them. In this errand I am come to you, amongst whom there hath not been the least misunderstanding, to shew you that I do not suspect any malice, in the place or in the people, though persons of as ill dispositions have been busy in it and amongst you as in any county in England, and such who have taken as great pains to do mischief and to bring confusion, as good men should for peace and happiness; though it is as true, that very many worthier persons amongst you have appeared of contrary affections, which I shall always acknowledge. I am come to you in a time too when nothing could invite me to such a journey but my affection to and good esteem of you: having sent such propositions of peace and accommodation to my two houses of parliament, that I hope to have no other use of your affections but in your prayers: being sure they will submit to them with alacrity, if the inexcusable enemies of the peace of the kingdom be not strong enough

to prevail. And then you will find yourselves so much concerned (for I have required nothing that with more justice can be denied me, if it be duly weighed, than my crown or my life may be taken from me) that I shall not need to ask your assistance. I know you will bring horse, men, money, and hearts worthy such a cause. Your religion, your liberties, your laws, which I will defend with my life (I mean the good known laws of the land; not ordinances without my consent, which till within these twelve months were never heard of from the foundation of this kingdom) will be the quarrel: and in such a cause the taking away my towns, ships, arms, and money from me shall not dishearten me. The concurrence and affection of my people, with God's blessing, will supply and recover all.

XLIV. To the gentry of Yorkshires. August 4, 1642.

Gentlemen, when I directed that summons should be sent out for your meeting here this day, my principal end was, that I might give you thanks for the great forwardness and expressions you have made of your affections to me since I came into this country; and to assure you, that as the whole kingdom hath great reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be ever unsatisfied with myself till I have found some way to fix a mark of favour and estimation upon this county and this people, which may tell posterity how good subjects you have been, and how much gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my sons too in a just acknowledgement. This was the most I intended to say to you. But there is an unquiet spirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to disturb and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from London when I chose this place for my safety, is so notorious, that all men know it who know any thing. With what strange violence and indignities I have been pursued since I came hither, needs no other evidence than Sir John Hotham's behaviour at Hull, who is now arrived to that insolence, that he will not suffer his treason to be longer confined within those walls, but makes sallies out of the town upon his fellow subjects, drowns their land, burns and plunders their houses,

houses, murders and (with unheard of cruelty) torments their persons : and this with so much delight, that he would not have the patience to wait what answer should be sent to my just demands, though in that respect I engaged myself to forbear to use any force, and kept my word ; but chose the night before that came, as if he knew well what answer I was to receive, to act those outrages. Ye see the sad effects of fears and jealousies, the miseries they have produced : no man can tell you the least good they have brought forth, or the least evil they have prevented. What inconveniency and burthen my presence hath been here, what disturbance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievance upon any private person, yourselves are best judges. And whatever scandal some men have pleased to cast upon the cavaliers, (which they intend should reach all my retinue, and by degrees shall involve all gentlemen) I am confident there hath not been any eminent disorder or damage befallen any man by any person of my train or under my protection. I am sure my directions have been very strict in that point ; and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by nearer complaints than from London. I pray God the same care may be taken there : I am sure it hath not been. And to give you the fullest testimony of my affection to you and to the peace of this county, and to shew you that no provocation shall provoke me to make this place to be the seat of the war, I have for your sakes passed over the considerations of honour, and notwithstanding the reproaches every day laid on me, laid no siege to that place, that they may not have the least pretence of doing you mischief, but resolve by God's help to recover Hull some other way ; for that I will ever sit down under so bold and inexcusable a treason, no honest man can imagine. But it seems other men are not of my mind, but resolve to make a war at your own doors, whatsoever you do or I suffer. To what purpose else is their new general armed with an authority to kill and destroy all my good subjects ; their levies of horse and foot, some whereof are upon their march towards you with cannon mounted ; and the sending so many new soldiers into Hull, when there is no approach
made

made towards it, but to sally out, and to commit rapine, and by degrees to pour out an army upon you ? in this I must ask your advice, what ye would do for yourselves, and what you would have me do for you. You see how I am stript of my navy at sea, which is employed against me, of my forts and towns at land, which are filled with armed men to destroy me ; my money and provisions of my house taken from me, and all my subjects forbid and threatened if they come near me, that I may by famine or solitariness be compelled to yield to the most dishonourable propositions, and to put myself and children into the hands of a few malignant persons, who have entered into a combination to destroy us. And all this done under pretence of a trust reposed by the people. How far you are from committing any such trust, most of the persons trusted by you, and your own expressions of duty to me have manifested to all the world : and how far the whole kingdom is from avowing such a trust, hath already in a great measure, and I doubt not will more every day appear by the professions of every county : for I am wholly cast upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the blessing and assistance of God, the justness of my cause, and the love of my subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say they are equal losers with me. Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from Hull, and the violence which threatens you from thence : I will assist you any way you propose. Next I desire you, out of the publick provision or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of arms, muskets and corselets as you may conveniently spare ; which I do promise to see fully repaid to you. These arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my lord mayor of York for my use, principally for those parts, which, by reason of their distance from Hull, are least subject to the fear of violence from thence. And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at musters, till their arms shall be restored ; which may well be sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what
is

is necessary to be done for the preservation of God's true religion, the laws of the land, the liberty of the subject, and the very being of this kingdom of England; for it is too evident all those are at stake. For the compleating of my son's regiment for the guard of his person, under the command of my lord of Cumberland, I refer it wholly to yourselves, who have expressed such forwardness in it.

XLV. To his army, after the reading of his orders, between Stafford and Wellington, Sept. 19, 1642.

Gentlemen, you have heard these order sread; it is your part in your several places to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful: and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution. Your conscience and your loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your religion, your king, and the laws of the land; you shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them brownists, anabaptists, and atheists, such who desire to destroy both church and state; and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you in a protestation, which when you have heard me make, you will believe, you cannot fight in a better quarrel; in which I promise to live and die with you. I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion established in the church of England; and by the grace of God in the same will live and die. I desire to govern by the known laws of the land; and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this army raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God, to maintain
the

the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great necessity and streights I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this kingdom. When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any man, or protection from heaven: but in this resolution I hope for the chearful assistance of all good men, and am confident of God's blessing.

XLVI. *To the inhabitants of Denbigh and Flint, at Wrexham, September 27, 1642.*

Gentlemen, I am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good subjects, in which number I have cause to reckon you of these two counties, having lately had a good expression of your loyalty and affections to me, by those levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts; which forwardness of yours I shall always remember to your advantage: and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerful malignant party in this kingdom, whose designs are no less than to destroy my person and crown, the laws of the land, and the present government both of church and state. The leaders of these men, by their subtlety and cunning practices, have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about London, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous tumults, and thereby have chased from thence myself and the greatest part of the members of both houses of parliament. Their power and secret plots have had such influence upon the small remaining part of both houses, that under colour of orders and ordinances made without the royal assent, a thing never heard of before this parliament, I am robbed and spoiled of my towns, forts, castles and goods, my navy forcibly taken from me, and employed against me, all my revenues stopt and seized upon; and at this time a powerful army is marching
against

against me. I wish this were all: they have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have most injuriously vented many false reproaches against my person and government, they have dispersed in print many notorious false scandals upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to cast upon me some aspersions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious rebellion in Ireland. They tell the people that I have recalled two ships appointed for the guard of these seas. 'Tis true; but they conceal that at the same time I sent my warrants to the Downs, commanding four as good ships to attend that service instead of those should be recalled; which warrant by their means could not find obedience. They forget that they then employed forty ships (many of them my own, and all of them set forth at the publick charge of this and that kingdom) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chase my good subjects, and maintain my own town of Hull against me; and that by the absence of those ships from the Irish seas, the rebels have had opportunity to bring store of arms, ammunition, and supplies to their succours, to which we may justly impute the calamities which have overwhelmed my poor protestant subjects there. They cry out upon a few suits of cloaths appointed, as they say, for Ireland, which some of my forces took; but conceal that they were taken as entering into Coventry, then in open rebellion against me, where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their soldiers who then bore arms against me. They talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my carriages; concealing that they were certified to be useless for the service of Ireland; when they themselves have seized an hundred thousand pounds particularly appointed by act of parliament for the relief of Ireland, where my army is ready to perish for want of it, and employed it, together with such part of the four hundred thousand pound subsidy as they have received, to maintain an unnatural civil war at home. Neither have they used their fellow-subjects better than they have done me their king. By their power the law of the land, your birth-right, is trampled upon, and instead thereof they govern my people by votes and arbitrary orders.

Such

Such as will not submit to their unlimited power are imprisoned, plundered, and destroyed: such as will not pay such exactions as they require toward this rebellion, are threatened to be put out of protection, as they call it, of the parliament: such as conscientiously remember their duty and loyalty to me their sovereign, are reviled, persecuted, and declared traitors: such as do desire to maintain the true protestant religion as it is established by the laws of the land, are traduced and called popish and superstitious; and on the contrary, such as are known brownists, anabaptists, and publick depravers of the book of common prayer, are countenanced and encouraged. They exact and receive tonnage and poudage and other great duties upon merchandises, not only without law, but in the face of an act of parliament to the contrary, passed this present parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a præmunire that shall presume so to oppress the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designs, you shall find some of their names in particular, and their actions at large, in my declaration of the twelfth of August, to which I shall refer you. I wish their craft and power were not such, that few of those copies can come to the view of my good people. Since that time these men so thirst after the destruction of this kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of treaty (which might bring peace to this kingdom, and beget a good understanding between me and my parliament) fruitless. In this distress into which these men have brought me and this kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, and the affections of my good people. And that you may clearly see what my resolutions are, I shall cause my voluntary protestation lately taken to be read to you: and I desire that the sheriffs of these two counties will dispose copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick, these men having restrained the use of my presses at London and the universities.

XLVII. To the inhabitants of Shropshire, at Shrewsbury, September 28, 1642.

Gentlemen, it is some benefit to me from the infolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about

about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my people. I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither: I will do my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robbed and spoiled of all my own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poor subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that army raised against me, though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty, than you shall do by mine. And yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best; and this I will promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it. I have sent hither for a mint; I will melt down all my own plate, and expose all my lands to sale or mortgage, that, if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you. In the mean time, I have summoned you hither, to invite you to do that for me and yourselves, for the maintenance of your religion, and the law of the land, by which you enjoy all that you have, which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost for want of supplying me with that which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their money, plate, and utmost industry to destroy the commonwealth, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Assure yourselves, if it please God to bless me with success, I shall remember the assistance every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter, how furiously soever the minds of some men are now possessed, be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to yourselves, you did your part to support your king, and preserve the kingdom. I desire Mr sheriff and the rest of the gentlemen to distribute themselves in that method, that they may best receive the expressions which you shall make of your affections, the which I will have particularly represented to me.

XLVIII. *To the inhabitants of Oxfordshire, at Oxford,
Nov. 2, 1642.*

Gentlemen, though you see my army marching from hence, I do not intend to leave you; my residence shall be so near, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your preservation: therefore fear not to express your affections to me with that courage which becomes you. I know how and by whom the country hath been awed; but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your loyalty than I have to restore you to it; and I shall guess by the evidence of this day at your natural dispositions. In assisting me you defend yourselves; for, believe it, the sword which is now drawn against me will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have and will venture my life for you; it will be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you, and whatsoever you shall lend me, I will, in the word of a king, see justly repaid to you. I appoint the sheriff to receive such money or plate as you, gentlemen, shall be willing to assist me with, and to return their names to me; and you of the clergy shall repair to Mr vice-chancellor, who shall do the like. And I expect that you should advance this service throughout the country, and return your collections suddenly to me by the hand of the sheriff. And I assure you, I shall take especial notice of such who shall be backward in this time of so visible necessity.

XLIX. *To the lords and commons, assembled at Oxford.
Jan. 22, 1643-4.*

My lords and gentlemen, when I consider your public interests and concernments in the happiness and honour of this nation, and your particular sufferings in this rebellion for your affection and loyalty to me, I must look upon you as the most competent considerers and counsellors how to manage and improve the condition we are all in; for sure our condition is so equal, that the same violence hath oppressed us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witnesses of my actions, and privy to my intentions: and certainly if I had the least thought disagreeing with the happiness and security of this kingdom, I would not advise with such counsellors. And I doubt not but your concurrence with me will so far prevail over the hearts and understandings of this whole kingdom, who must look upon you at persons naturally and originally trusted by and for them, that it will be above the reach and malice of those who have hitherto had too great an influence upon the people, to discredit my most entire actions and sincere promises. You will be the best witnesses for the one, and security for the other. Very many of you can bear me witness, with what unwillingness I suffered myself first to take up these defensive arms: indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those who in two set battles have sufficiently informed the world how tender they have been of the safety of my person. I foresaw not only the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon my subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences my best subjects would suffer even by my own army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection. For I was not so ill a soldier; as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities; and I assure you, the sense I have of their sufferings who deserve well of me, by my forces, hath been a greater grief to me than any thing to my own particular. My hope was, that either by success on my part, or repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and despair have made these men more wicked than I imagine they at first intended to be: for instead of removing and reconciling these bloody distractions, and restoring peace to this languishing country, they have invited a foreign power to invade this kingdom, and that in your names, and challenge this invasion from them as a debt to the commonwealth. You, my lords, have, like yourselves, as good patriots, expressed your dissent, and vindicated yourselves from that imputation: and I doubt not but

you, gentlemen, will let your countries know how far you are from desiring such assistance; and how absolute and peremptory a breach this raising of arms of my Scottish subjects is of that pacification which was so lately and solemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conquest of you and your laws. I shall send you all the advertisements I have of that business which is threatened from Scotland, and what is already acted from thence; and shall desire your speedy advice and assistance, what is to be said or done both with reference to this and that kingdom. Our ends being the same, I am sure there will be no other difference in the way than what upon debate and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let our religion, in which we are all most nearly concerned, and without care of which we must not look for God's blessing, be vindicated and preserved; let my honour and rights, which you find to have an inseparable relation with your own interests, be vindicated and restored: let your liberties, properties, privileges, without which I would not be your king, be secured and confirmed; there is nothing you can advise me to I will not meet you in. And I doubt not but we shall together inform posterity, how much our trust and confidence in each other is a better expedient for the peace of the kingdom, than fears and jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting together, than in telling you that I have prepared fit places for your meetings, to which I desire you to repair this night; assuring you that I shall be always ready to receive any thing from you, admitting you to me, or coming to you myself, whensoever you shall desire.

And so God direct you the best way.

L. To the lord primate of Ireland, and the congregation at Christ-church in Oxford, 1643.

[His majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the lord archbishop of Armagh, rising up from his knees and beckoning to the archbishop for a short forbearance, said,]

MY lord, I espy here many resolved protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared

red my soul to become a worthy receiver: and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed protestant religion; as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these publick distractions I have still liberty to communicate: and may this Sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation.

LII. To the lords and commons at Oxford, February 7, 1643-4.

MY lords and gentlemen, I have hardly thus long forbore to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your coming together. And first I thank you for your inclination to peace: to which as my willingness of complying shewed the constancy of my endeavours in the best way for the publick good, so the rebels, by their scornfully rejecting your overtures, as they have done heretofore mine, have shewed their constancy in their way. Next, I must thank every one of you for so chearfully applying yourselves to the maintenance and recruiting of my army, which I hope God will so bless, that thereby these enemies of peace shall have their due reward. And truly, my lords and gentlemen, this alacrity of yours in providing for my army doth please me in no consideration so much, as that it is the best way for peace; for certainly this strange arrogance of refusing to treat with you can proceed from nothing but their contempt of our forces. But it is your present honour, and will be more to posterity, that God hath made you instruments to defend your sovereign, and to preserve your country; to see that religion and law to flourish which you have rescued from the violence of rebellion; for which I hope in time to recompense every one of you: but if I shall not, here is one, I hope, will; in which he shall but perform my commands: for I have no greater sadness for those who are my ill subjects, than I have joy and comfort in your affections and fidelities. And so God prosper your proceedings.

LII. *To the lords and commons, at their recess, Oxford, April 16. 1644.*

MY lords and gentlemen, I am now brought to you by yourselves ; for I should not so soon have parted with you, if you had not desired it : and I believe that the same zeal and affection to me and your country which have brought and staid you here, hath caused you to seek this recess, that so by distributing yourselves into your several countries, we may all the better reap the fruits of our consultations. Wherefore in God's name dispose of yourselves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire. I think most, if not all, of you are engaged in my service, either in a civil or martial way. To you that have charge in my armies I recommend the diligent attendance on your commands, that so by your good example and discipline you may suppress licence and disorder, which will discredit, and may destroy the best cause. And to you who are engaged in the civil affairs, I must recommend these few particulars : that you expedite those supplies of monies which, by your advice, I have sent for, whether by subscription or excise ; remembering that monies are the nerves of war. Likewise that you use your best diligence for the pressing of men, and encouragement of volunteers, by shewing them, that now the only way to preserve themselves from slavery and their country from ruin, is freely to engage their persons. But chiefly, and with all possible care, to inform all my subjects of the barbarity and odiousness of this rebellion, how solicitous I have been for peace, and how insolently and scornfully rejected ; assuring them, that my arms are raised and kept only for the defence of their religion, laws, and liberties, which being once secured and vindicated, I shall most chearfully lay them down, I having, God knows, with much unwillingness taken them up. Lastly, assure them that these extraordinary ways which necessity hath produced, and most of them not without your consent or advice, for my supply, shall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice ; and I shall in the mean time do my best to prevent and punish all

EXOR.

exorbitancies and disorders. To conclude, my lords and gentlemen, I do now again, yet never enough, thank you for your great and unanimous expressions of your affections to me, which hath laid an inexpressible obligation upon me : and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our religion, laws, and liberties, which I will not inviolably observe. Now God, who hath blessed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity, which I esteem as one not of his least blessings, will I hope, bring us all safe together again the eighth day of October next. In the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your committees that shall be desired.

LIII. *To the inhabitants of Somerset, at Kingsmore.*
July 23. 1644.

Gentlemen, I have often desired before these troubles to visit these western parts, that I might with joy have been an eye-witness of the blessings of peace which you then enjoyed, and have been welcomed with the hearty and unanimous affections of my good people here : but the malicious designs of the authors of this most unnatural war have made those my intentions impossible ; yet my coming to you in this posture may sufficiently express what value I set upon these associated counties. I am now come to relieve you from the violence of a rebellious army sent hither by those that have plunged this whole kingdom into these desperate distractions. They have got footing in your country, and under the false pretences they carry with them (wherewith they have abused too many of my people) are ready to devour you, and bring destruction to your religion, property, and liberty. These I am come to defend ; and shall refuse no danger that may conduce to your deliverance from this slavery attempted on you by those men. All that I ask of you is, that you will not be wanting to yourselves, but will heartily join with me in this good work, by contributing your chearful assistance to my army, and by performing your duty in bearing arms with me in this good cause, wherein whoever shall fall carrieth this comfort with him, that he falleth in defence of the true protestant religion, his king,

king, his country, and the law of the land. And he that will not venture his life for these, I had rather have his room than his company. Upon these grounds I shall lead you on: follow me with courage, and the God of power give us his blessing. I shall further remember you of this, that if by your assistance it shall please God to enable me to reduce this army now in the bowels of your country, you will not only thereby free these associated counties from those miseries which threaten you; but it may please God in mercy so to look upon this poor kingdom, that the fruits of this victory may be a means to restore peace to us all, that blessed peace which I have so often and so importunately sought for from them at Westminster, and which they have so scornfully rejected, as if the blood of their fellow-subjects were their delight. God turn their hearts: neither shall I despair of it, if the success of that army, the chiefest strength on which they rely, shall fail their expectation; for then it may have such an influence upon them, that I hope they may be prevailed with to give you leave to be happy again: and, which I have so often desired, to have all that is in question between them and me determined in a full and free convention of parliament. Then I shall not fear but the united power of this kingdom will easily free us from that northern invasion, which, making use of our divisions, threateneth no less than the conquest of this whole nation. This I assure you, that no success shall make me less zealously seek for peace, well knowing whose blood is to be spilt in this unhappy quarrel; but rather I shall more fervently increase my desires, by how much I may have better grounded hopes to attain what I so earnestly desire. When I mention peace, I would be understood to intend that peace which is built upon such foundations as are most likely to render it firm and stable, wherein God's true religion may be best secured from the danger of popery, sectaries and innovations; the crown may possess those just prerogatives which may enable me to protect and govern my people according to law; and the subject be confirmed in those rights which they have derived from their forefathers, and which I have granted to them in parliament, to which I shall be always be
ready

ready to add such new graces as I shall find most to conduce to their happiness. This is the peace which I labour for, wherein I may justly expect your best assistance, with your hearts, and hands, and purses. Neither shall I be more burthensome to you with my army than of necessity I must for its support (so far I must desire your help, being violently robbed of all my revenues.) I have and shall use all possible means to suppress the disorders of the soldiers. The best way to do it is, by taking order that they be not provoked with want of necessary provisions. That being done by you, master sheriff, and the commissioners of this county, which I most earnestly commend to your care, you shall find me very strict in such discipline as may best secure you. This night I hope to have joined to me other considerable forces, which are upon their march towards me; and to morrow morning we shall humbly ask God's blessing on us, and begin the work. This care I shall further take for you, that as soon as possibly I can, other men to be levied by impress shall supply the place of such of you as I shall then give liberty to return to your harvest. I shall conclude with this promise to you, that I shall look upon your chearfulness in this service as the greatest expression of your loyalty and affections that you can make or I receive; which I shall requite, if it be in my power. If I live not to do it, I hope this young man; my son, your fellow-soldier in this expedition, will; to whom I shall particularly give it in charge.

LIV. *To the committee of both houses, at the delivery of the votes for a personal treaty, at Carisbrook castle, Aug. 7. 1648.*

ON Monday the seventh of August, the commissioners being admitted into the king's presence, the votes were first read, and then presented to his majesty by the earl of Middlesex, who desired *his majesty's speedy answer, for that their return was limited to ten days.* The king then asked, "whether the ten days were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the message." The earl answering, "no, sir; they are to be counted from the day of our setting forth." The king replied, "I have not then five days allowed me to consider

“ consider of my answer, which I presume you expect
 “ in writing ; and I have none to help me, no not so
 “ much as a clerk to transcribe. However I will really
 “ contribute my best endeavours to an happy peace.”

After a short pause he added, “ I would have sent to
 “ the parliament : but I desire them to take notice that
 “ my long silence proceeds not from a dull stupid
 “ laziness, or my being insensible of my own or the
 “ kingdom's condition ; but from the incapacity that lay
 “ on me by reason of former votes. But now a way is
 “ opened to a treaty, which I ever apprehended as the
 “ only means to a durable peace, I shall chearfully em-
 “ brace it, and none shall more speedily run to it than
 “ myself. And for my part, as being more concerned
 “ than any one in this kingdom, nay, should I say more
 “ than all, speak it without vanity, I hope it will be
 “ thought no hyperbolical expression, for I am assured,
 “ whosoever gains, I shall be a loser.” His majesty then
 read the votes to himself ; after which he said, “ I like
 “ them well, my desires being included in these votes ;
 “ for what can I desire more than to treat with honour,
 “ freedom and safety, upon the propositions, and such
 “ other things as either I or the two houses shall offer ?”
 then asking, “ whether the commissioners to treat were
 “ yet nominated :” the earl of Middlesex answered,
 “ no, sir.”

And the king added, “ in a treaty two sorts of things
 “ are considerable ; some necessary, others convenient.”
 Then breaking off he said, “ I will go and apply my-
 “ self to my answer, that I may not delay a minute to
 “ promote so good a work.” And so withdrew, dis-
 missing the commissioners.

Thursday, August 10. The commissioners coming to
 receive his majesty's answer, upon their entrance he told
 them, “ he was sorry he was limited to so short a time,
 “ and had so little helps for dispatch, yet notwithstanding
 “ ing he had prepared his answer.” Before the reading
 of it, he added, “ that the last message he sent to the
 “ houses was delivered to the commissioners sealed ;
 “ and had it been so presented, it would have been
 “ better for him : but now he thought it fit to send this
 “ open, because he could not be in a worse condition,
 being

“ being under so close a restraint, none being suffered
“ to speak a word to him without suspicion.” Then
producing his answer, he read it aloud in the presence-
chamber, being full of company : which done, he said,
“ that he hoped he had therein endeavoured to give
“ satisfaction to his parliament, there being nothing in
“ it but what he conceived was implied in their votes.”
And further added, “ that there might be some that
“ would oppose this treaty, as being gainers by these
“ wars, and therefore desired the continuance of it.
“ Others might think him revengeful;—— but,” he
said, “ he was so far from seeking revenge, that if a
“ straw lay in their way to hurt them, he would stoop
“ and take it up to prevent it. God forgive them, for
“ I do.” Then the commissioners coming to take their
leave, his majesty asked them, “ how they liked his
“ answer?” They answered, “ they thought and hoped
“ it would produce a sudden and happy well-grounded
“ peace.”

LV. *To the commissioners of both houses, at the first close
of the treaty at Newport, November 4, 1648.*

HIS majesty said, “ that he hoped they were now
“ sensible that none was more desirous of a good
“ and lasting peace than himself; that he had gone very
“ far to give his two houses satisfaction : that he thought
“ though the time for the treaty was ended, yet the
“ treaty itself was not; that he expected to hear from
“ his two houses about his own propositions; and would
“ be ready to make his concessions binding, by giving
“ them the force of laws.” He desired, “ that they
“ would put a good interpretation upon his vehement
“ expressions in some of his debates, there being nothing
“ in his intentions but kindness; and that as they had
“ taken abundance of freedom, and shewed great abili-
“ ties in their debates, which have taken his majesty off
“ from some of his own opinions; so he doubted not,
“ had they had power to recede, some of his reasons
“ would have prevailed with them, as he is confident,
“ had it been with his two houses, it would have done
“ with them : and therefore beseeches them to take
“ the same freedom with his two houses, to press them

“ to a compliance with him in those things his conscience is not yet satisfied in, which more time may do, his opinion not being like the laws of the Medes and Persians, unalterable, or infallible.” He added “ his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to satisfy him, professing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities. He desired them candidly to represent all the transactions of this treaty to his two houses, that they might see, nothing of his interest how near or dear soever, but that wherein his conscience is unsatisfied, can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this treaty.”

LVI. *To the lords commissioners, at their taking leave, Newport, Nov. 1648.*

MY lords, you are come to take your leave of me ; and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again : but God's will be done. I thank God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer man to do unto me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near to you : I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against me and mine ; and nothing so much afflicts me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the miseries that hang over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who upon pretences of good violently pursue their own interests and ends.



END OF THE FIRST VOLUME,

onfci-
 y do,
 and
 " his
 en to
 ce to
 didly
 o his
 ereft
 con-
 appy

cave,

me ;
other
have
nder-
o me.
l and
u : I
ound.
e plot
s me,
f my
king-
ences
nds.

had	22
about	22
now	22
express	22
in	22
the	22
our	22
more	22
had	22
now	22
had	22
the	22
of	22